

Alcuin Club Tracts

XI

THE BREAD OF THE EUCHARIST

BY

REGINALD MAXWELL WOOLLEY, B.D. (CAMB.)

Rector and Vicar of Minting

A. R. MOWBRAY & CO. LTD.

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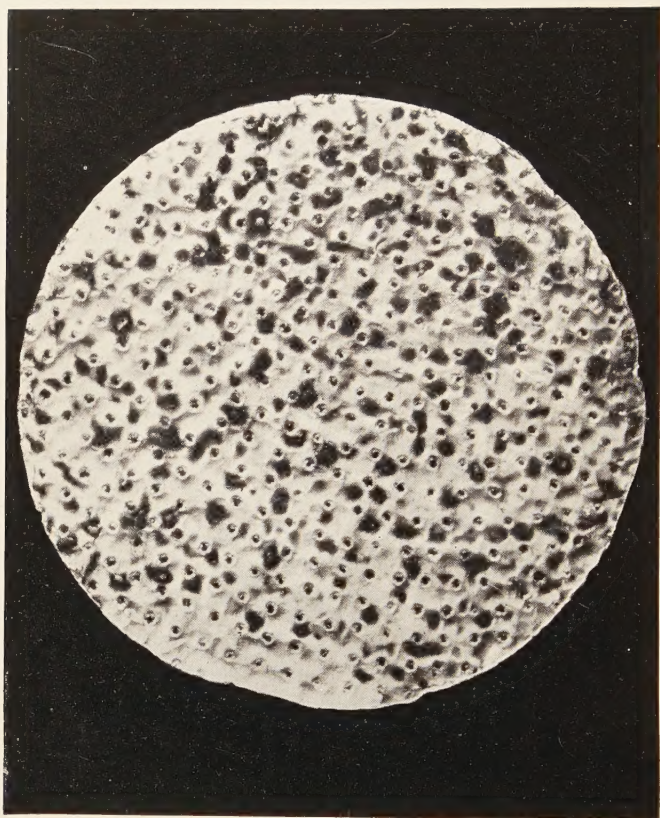
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JEWISH PASSOVER CAKE

$5\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch

The cakes are not smooth and white, but uneven and slightly scorched

[*Frontispiece*]

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E. M. W.

cured for me by Mr. Brightman. The Russian and Greek Orthodox breads, photographs of which, with the Passover-cake, were made for me by Mr. C. F. Olney of Northampton, were kindly procured by the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Canton.

I would like to add that it is extremely difficult to get accurate and trustworthy information as to details in the uses of the different Eastern Churches. I think, however, and hope, that I have not been guilty of any misrepresentations.

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THE BREAD OF THE EUCHARIST

I

THE USES OF THE CHURCH BEFORE THE SCHISM OF EAST AND WEST

THE matter requisite for the due celebration of the Eucharist is bread and wine.

Bread is a cake made of wheaten flour and water. It has been customary, for ages, to add to this the ferment of leaven to cause the loaf to rise.

Among the Jews, though leavened bread was in ordinary use, for certain religious observances in which bread was used the bread so used was unleavened. In some cases in which it was used the omission of leaven had some special historical significance, *e.g.* at the Passover; in other cases, such as the ordinance of the Shewbread, and the use of bread in sacrifice, unleavened bread was used probably for the sake of convenience, as keeping better.

In the Christian Church there have long been two different customs in the use of bread for the purposes of the Eucharist. The Oriental Churches have used ordinary leavened bread, which use, they maintain, is the unchanged immemorial custom of the Church from the beginning. The Western Church, on the other hand, has long used

unleavened bread only, and has based her practice on the alleged use by our Lord Himself at the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament.

The question, which would seem unimportant in itself if both leavened and unleavened are equally bread, assumed an importance when the two uses were made a matter of controversy to such an extent that their diversity of use became one of the pretexts of the schism between East and West.

The Anglican Church has compromised. Since the time of the Second Prayer Book of 1552, while regarding "unleavened bread" as the normal use, she permits, if there is any particular reason for it, the use of ordinary leavened bread, so long as it is of the best and purest that can be procured.

When the controversy first arose between East and West, the Easterns pointed to the immemorial use of the Church in using leavened bread, and denounced the Western use of unleavened as a novelty.

The Roman Church, seeking support for its practice, adduced the circumstances of the Institution, pointing out that, since this took place at a Passover-meal, our Lord Himself instituted the Sacrament in unleavened bread. The Greeks retorted by denying that our Lord had instituted the Blessed Sacrament at a Paschal meal, and by declaring that the accounts of the Institution prove this by the use of the word *ἄpros* for "bread," a word which by itself cannot mean "unleavened bread," but ordinary, that is to say, leavened, bread only.

The question as to whether the Eucharist was instituted at a Passover meal or not is still unsettled. We have to face the fact frankly that the Synoptists and St. John contradict one another. The Synoptists put the meal at which the Sacrament was instituted on the first day of

unleavened bread, and evidently regard the meal as a Paschal Supper. St. John, on the other hand, as definitely implies that the supper took place before the Passover.

The meal itself seems to have been intended by our Lord as a Paschal Supper, whether it was on the proper day or not. It is a question into which we cannot enter here. The facts are as follows :

Either it was a Paschal Supper as the Synoptists indicate, and the bread used in that case was certainly unleavened, or the supper took place the night before the proper day for the Paschal commemoration ; but it would seem, perhaps, probable that even so the bread would have been unleavened, for during the few days before the Passover and up till midday on the 14th of Nisan the houses were being rid of leaven.

There we must leave it. The question is still unsettled. The probabilities seem to be much in favour of the view that this was the proper Paschal Supper, and therefore that our Lord, in the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament, Himself used unleavened bread.

The next question to be considered is whether the word *ἄρτος*, which is used by the Synoptists and by St. Paul in his account of the Institution, can properly denote unleavened bread. In the controversy of the eleventh century this was denied by the Greeks.

The contention of the Greeks seems to be true. **Ἀρτος* is properly "leavened bread," and is not used by itself of "unleavened bread." If it is so used it is always qualified by some other word—thus, *ἄρτος ἄζυμος*. In the LXX this is the case. **Ἀρτος* alone is never used of unleavened. In the case of the Shewbread, for instance, which was unleavened, it is qualified—*ἄρτος προθέσεως*. It is true that at the Council of Nymphæum the Latins

adduced Lev. vii. 12 as affording an example of ἄρτος used of "unleavened." In this passage ἄρτους ἐκ σεμιδάλεως occurs in the LXX against the Hebrew מִצַּח לֶחֶם, but the Greek translator did not read מִצַּח here, for he translates the word which occurs again in the verse by ἄζυμα. Therefore this quotation proves nothing.

In the same way, *panis*, which is the equivalent of ἄρτος, does not by itself represent unleavened bread. Indeed, the use of unleavened bread seems to have been almost unheard of in the West in early days, for the words to denote it, *azyma* and (*panis*) *infermentatus* are both late words, and Tacitus can speak of unleavened as "iudaicus panis."¹

But, if this is so, how are we to explain the use of the Synoptists and St. Paul if, as we have suggested, the probabilities are that our Lord used unleavened bread? It may be explained by the theory that, if the Synoptists realised that they were speaking of a Paschal meal, and realised all that this implied, such as the use of unleavened, then the context would be sufficient to supply the qualification to ἄρτος.

This is not, perhaps, a very likely explanation. The true explanation is probably that the Evangelists, writing many years after the events which they record, and when they were familiar with the use of leavened bread only in the Eucharist, used ἄρτος in the ordinary signification, quite overlooking the fact that at a Passover meal it would be unleavened bread that was used.

In the Acts of the Apostles the expression "breaking of bread" certainly includes, in some cases at least, the Eucharist. Would unleavened bread be specially prepared? It was true that the Eucharist was the new Passover; but it was the *new*, not the old, and there is no sign of the other Jewish Passover observances being applied to every celebration of the Eucharist.

¹ *Hist.* v. 4.

Again, St. Paul lays stress on the "one loaf" of the Eucharist,¹ although no conclusive argument can be deduced from these words. Then it is hardly probable that this could cover the use of unleavened bread. With a large number of communicants it would have been necessary to have a very large unleavened cake.

It is true that among the Armenians only one wafer is used, but communion is there given by intinction, be it remembered. Also, if unleavened bread was used by St. Paul, it would be due to his regarding the Eucharist as the Christian Passover, and in the old Passover not one unleavened cake, but several were used.

Then, again, the question of the Gentile converts comes in. Even if the Jewish party did use unleavened bread in the Eucharist—a use of which there is no shadow of a sign—it would seem to be clear, from the decision of the Council of Jerusalem in its ordinances for the Gentiles, that this was not the practice of the Gentile churches. There would almost certainly have been some mention of this if it was to be the use of the Church at large.

If the use of unleavened bread ever existed in the early Church (as it did among the Ebionites in the days of Epiphanius), we may suspect that it was only among the Judaising sects, which formed a very small and diminishing part of the Church Catholic.

When we pass on from the New Testament to Patristic writings, we find still no definite statements on the subject. Nearly all the evidence is by deduction from the incidental remarks.

The use of the word *ἄpros* itself is not absolutely conclusive; at any rate, it is not sufficiently so to settle the question by itself.

¹ "For we, being many, are one bread and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread" (1 Cor. x. 17).

We have seen that Tacitus, by speaking of unleavened bread as "iudaicus panis," shows that, to say the least, such unleavened bread was not in ordinary use among the Romans.

Nor is there any ground for thinking that it was in ordinary or common use among other Gentile peoples. When, however, decrees of Councils deal with the subject of the Eucharistic bread, we get much more definite evidence—evidence all the more valuable as showing indirectly the causes that led to the introduction of new uses. The absence of all reference in the earlier Councils tends to show that there was only one use in earlier times, and that general to the whole Church.

It remains for us, then, to consider the evidence which can be culled from Patristic writings and conciliar decrees until the time when the difference of uses became a matter of bitterest controversy between the two great divisions of the Church Catholic.

The earliest work among Patristic writings is the *Didache*, a work which, in its present form, is not later than A.D. 130.

Here the bread of the Eucharist is spoken of as "the broken [bread]" (τὸ κλάσμα). By itself this tells us nothing, but the words of the consecration form in which the expression occurs are enlightening: Ὡσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, κ.τ.λ. (c. ix).

Here St. Paul's reference to the "one loaf" is at once recalled to the mind, and there would seem to be very little doubt that the writer is thinking of the communicants all receiving from one loaf. If this is so, the bread used was probably, as we have seen when discussing St. Paul's words, a leavened loaf.

Passing on to a little beyond the middle of the second

century, we find St. Justin Martyr explaining: "Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος (*Apol.* I. § 65). Here, again, there seems to be a reference to one loaf. It is ἄρτος, "a loaf," not ὁ ἄρτος, "bread."

Again, the careful statement of Justin (*ib.* § 66) that, after consecration, the bread is no longer κοινὸς ἄρτος, perhaps has some bearing on the question. St. Irenæus, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Gregory of Nyssa use the same expression in the same connection, and St. Cyril also uses the equivalent expressions, ἄρτος λιτός, ψιλὸς ἄρτος.

Again in Ps.-Ambrose (*de Sacr.* IV. iv. 14) we find such words as these: "Tu forte dicis; meus panis est usitatus." To the point, too, is the story of a woman who laughed when St. Gregory the Great was about to administer to her the Body of the Lord, and afterwards explained that she had laughed "because you called the bread, which I knew I had made with my own hands, the Body of Christ."¹

Surely these expressions seem to imply that the bread used at the Eucharist was ordinary; that is, leavened. It is most improbable that none of the writers quoted above should have commented on the fact if the bread was unleavened when using such words. Indeed, if the bread contemplated by Ps.-Ambrose was unleavened it was certainly not "usitatus."

The story of St. Gregory and the irreverent woman brings up the whole question of the oblations of bread and wine by the people. The very fact that for centuries it was the custom for the people to offer the bread and wine to be used in the celebration of the mysteries seems to me to argue strongly in favour of the use of ordinary, *i.e.* leavened bread. Bona even goes so far as to say that the practice proves the use of leavened; and it is interesting to note that, in the

¹ *Life of Gregory*, by John the Deacon, ii. § 41.

three Rites in which this oblation by the people survives, the Consecration of a Bishop, the Consecration of a King, and the Rite of Canonisation, the loaves then offered are of leavened bread.¹

In the *Acts of Thomas*, a work of about the date 200, we read : "And the Apostle bade his deacon to prepare the [bread of] fraction."² Here the word is ܠܚܡܐ = Gr. κλάσμα. Again in the same work (p. ܚܕܝܢܐ) Mygdonia, one of the Apostle's converts, bids her nurse bring for the Eucharist "mixed wine and water in a cup and one whole loaf." Here the word for loaf is the ordinary word ܠܚܡܐ. Evidently it is an ordinary loaf of leavened bread which is meant. The word ܠܚܡܐ (= H. ὄψις = Gr. ἄρτος) is never used, so far as I know, without a qualifying word of "unleavened bread," which is signified by ܠܚܡܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ. About the same time, but probably a little earlier, the Gnostic Ptolemaeus, in his letter to Flora, speaks of the observances and usages of the old law which were merely symbolical as having now been done away with. Among these observances of the old dispensation he mentions unleavened bread. He says : Τὰ ἐν προσφοραῖς λέγω καὶ περιτομῇ . . . καὶ ἄζυμοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νομοθετηθέντα· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα εἰκόνες καὶ σύμβολα ὄντα, τῆς ἀληθείας φανερωθείσης, μετετέθη (iii. 9).

In the Coptic version of the earliest *Church Order*, which is probably to be dated somewhere between 250–300, in the account of the Eucharist which follows on the Rites of Baptism, in speaking of the consecration of the bread, the words are : "[The Bishop] shall give thanks over a loaf." It is difficult to believe that such an expression could cover a use of unleavened bread. The word used is the ordinary word for "bread," and equivalent to ἄρτος. And again, in another Syriac work, *The Acts of John the Son of Zebedee*, belonging

¹ Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, I. xxiii. iii.

² Wright, *Apocryphal Acts*, p. ܠܚܡܐ.

to the third or perhaps fourth century (and not to be confused with the earlier Greek *Acts of John*), the Apostle, when about to celebrate the Eucharist, asks for "pure white bread to be brought" to him. Here the bread is specified. It is "white bread," *i.e.* "wheaten bread." The word used is the ordinary word, *καλὸν*.

St. Cyprian does not give us any definite information, but refers again to the old figure of the many grains being gathered into one loaf. In his letter on the mixed chalice (*Ep.* lxiii. 13) he says: "Nec Corpus Domini potest esse farina sola aut aqua sola, nisi utrumque adunatum fuerit et copulatum et panis unius compage solidatum. Quo et ipso sacramento populus noster ostenditur adunatus, ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta et commolita et commixta panem unum faciunt, sic in Christo qui est panis cælestis, unum sciamus esse corpus, cui coniunctus, sit noster numerus et adunatus."

This passage has sometimes been quoted as evidence of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist by the African Church of Cyprian's day. But the passage does not really touch the point. Leaven is not an ingredient, but a ferment, and its use in making bread would not affect Cyprian's argument here at all.

Origen has been quoted in evidence of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. But the passage in question (*in Matt.* xii., *P.G.* xiii. col. 989) has nothing at all to do with the Eucharist. He is commenting on our Lord's words, "Take heed of the leaven of the Pharisees." Origen comments thus: "You must know that, wherever leaven is mentioned, it is used allegorically for 'teaching,' whether in the law or in the other scriptures which come after the law. And so leaven is never offered at the altar, for prayers must not be like learnt lessons, but just simply the asking of things good for us from God."

The words "leaven is never offered at the altar" (οὐτω δὲ μήποτε ζύμη οὐ προσφέρεται ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου) have nothing to do with the Eucharist or the Christian altar, but refer to the directions as to sacrifice in the law, such as that contained in Leviticus ii. 11 : "No meat offering which ye shall bring unto the Lord shall be made with leaven : for ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, in any offering of the Lord made by fire."

The attitude of the Fathers generally to the usages of the Jews, and the contemptuous language in which they refer to the use of unleavened bread among the Jews, makes it difficult to believe that the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist was known to the writers in question.

Thus Augustine can say : " Illi [*sc.* Judæi] ergo ita sunt tanquam Cain cum signo. Sacrificia vero quæ ibi fiebant ablata sunt, et quod eis remansit ad signum Cain iam perfectum est et nesciunt. Agnum occidunt, azyma comedunt. 'Pascha nostra immolatus est Christus,' quid de azymis? 'Itaque,' inquit, 'diem festum celebremus, non in fermento veteri neque in fermento malitiæ et malignitatis.' Ostendit quid sit vetus fermentum, vetus farina est, et acuit : 'sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis.' In umbra remanserunt, solem gloriæ ferre non possunt. Iam nos in luce sumus, tenemus Corpus Christi, tenemus sanguinem Christi " (*Enarr. in Ps. xxxix.*).

The Western mind of later days found in a more literal understanding of the passage which St. Augustine quotes from St. Paul a justification of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.

St. Chrysostom uses language to the same effect (*de prodit. Judæ.* ii. 3) : Δοκοῦσι (*sc.* οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) πάσχα ποιεῖν ἐπειδὴ γνώμη ἀναισχύντῳ τὰ ἄζυμα προβάλλουσιν οἱ ἀπερίτμητοι ταῖς καρδίαις. πῶς, εἰπέ μοι, τὸ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖς ὁ Ἰουδαῖε ; ὁ ναὸς κατέσκαπται, ὁ βωμὸς ἀνήρηται, τὰ ἅγια

τῶν ἁγίων πεπάτηται, πάσης θυσίας εἶδος λέλνται . . . ὁρᾷς πῶς ἀκάθαρτα τὰ ἄζυμα; πῶς παράνομος ἡ ἑορτή; πῶς πάσχα Ἰουδαικόν ποτε ἀλλ' ἐλύθη νῦν; καὶ ἐπῆλθε τὸ πνευματικὸν πάσχα ὃ παρεδίδου τότε ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσθιόντων γάρ, κ.τ.λ.

So St. Chrysostom classes the use of unleavened bread with other ceremonies of the old law which have now been done away with. Surely he could not have said that τὰ ἄζυμα were ἀκάθαρτα if he knew of unleavened bread being used in the Eucharist. This extract from St. Chrysostom is also interesting as showing that he believed the Blessed Sacrament to have been instituted during a Passover meal. This was strenuously denied by the Greeks in their controversy with the Latins at a later date.

We find the same attitude as regards unleavened bread in Paulinus of Nola, a Western (353-431). He thus speaks of the Jewish rites :

Inde fugæ memores, etiam nunc azyma sumunt
 Judæi solo retinentes nomine gentem
 Infermentatis pulsi quia panibus olim
 Ægypto fecere fugam; paribus modo signis
 Per patrios, sed iam per inania sabbata, ritus
 Antiqui recolunt vestigia grata timoris.
 Nam frustra veterem vacua sub imagine legem
 Exercent, verum nobis quia Pascha replevit
 Unus pro cunctis Patri datus hostia Christus
 Et quia corpus adest vitæ perit umbra figura.

Carmen 26, 45.

Epiphanius, speaking of the Ebionites, says that, while they celebrate the Eucharist in imitation of the Church, yet they use unleavened bread for the bread, and water alone in the cup. This is evidently a peculiarity; and his drawing attention to their use of unleavened bread as a peculiarity

shows that he knew of no such practice in the Church. His words are : Μυστήρια δὲ δῆθεν τελούσι κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν διὰ ἀζύμων, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ μυστηρίου δι' ὕδατος μόνου (*Haer.* xxx. 16).

The 106 *Canons of Basil*¹ indirectly bear on the subject. Canon 98 runs thus : "The deacons who prepare and bring in the offerings shall examine the broken bread, whether by chance it remains over from the previous day, or is burnt, or has any blemish, that they commit no sin. For these mysteries represent the lamb which was slain in the time of the Hebrews in Egypt. With regard to this lamb it is enjoined that none be taken in which is any blemish or defect. How, then, can it be so with the bread which they prepare for the purpose of the mysteries?"

The Canon goes on to draw comparisons between the Passover lamb and the bread, showing the spiritual significance of the Passover rules as applied to the Eucharist. The baking signifies the spiritual fire of Baptism by which all have been purified who partake of the Eucharist. The seven days of unleavened bread before the eating of the lamb are meant to signify the preparation of him who was to partake of the Holy Mysteries.

It is significant that the parallel is drawn between the bread of the Eucharist and the *lamb* of the Passover. The unleavened bread of the Passover Supper is actually mentioned, but has evidently no reference to the bread of the Eucharist in the mind of a writer who could not fail to seize upon the parallel if unleavened bread had been the use in the Eucharist with which he was familiar. So this Canon, while saying nothing directly, yet makes it almost

¹ This collection of Canons, probably Egyptian, dates from about the beginning of the fifth century. They are to be found in Riedel, *Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*.

certain that the writer had no knowledge of any Christian use of unleavened bread, or at least in the Eucharist.

In the *Liber Pontificalis* there is an allusion to a practice in the Roman Church of the fourth century which may have some bearing on the question. The language does not, however, very clearly explain what was the actual custom.

Of Miltiades we read : " Ab eodem die fecit ut oblationes consecratæ per ecclesias ex consecratu Episcopi dirigentur, quod declaratur fermentum." ¹

In the same work we are told of Pope Siricius : " Hic constituit ut nullus presbiter missas celebraret per omnem ebdomadem nisi consecratum Episcopi loci designati susci-peret declaratum quod nominatum ' fermentum.' " ²

Mgr. Duchesne's comment on these somewhat obscure statements is as follows : " Le ' fermentum ' était une portion du pain consacré à la messe épiscopale que l'on envoyait le dimanche aux prêtres des titres ou paroisses urbaines pour être joint à leur propre consécration. C'était une symbole de l'unité de l'église locale, et en particulier de son unité étroite dans la célébration du mystère eucharistique."

The custom in somewhat later days is explained by the letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius : " De fermento quod die dominica per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti cum omnes ecclesiæ nostræ intra civitatem sint constitutæ, quarum presbyteri quia die ipsa propter plebem sibi creditum nobiscum convenire non possunt, idcirco fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt ut se a nostra communione maxime illa die non iudicent separatos. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longe portanda sunt sacramenta. . . ."

Thus it is quite clear that, in the time of Pope Innocent,

¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i. p. 168. Paris, 1886-1892.

² *Ib.*, i. p. 216.

a portion of the Consecrated Bread was distributed from the Pope's Mass among the neighbouring churches. In the eighth century in the Papal Mass itself the portion of the Host used for the commixture, called the "Sancta," was a portion of the Sacrament reserved from a previous celebration to maintain the unity of the Eucharist. If the Pope himself did not celebrate, the portion of the Host used at the commixture was reserved from a celebration at which the Pope had officiated, and was in this case called the "fermentum."¹

We see here the same idea as that which underlies the practice of the East Syrians and the West Syrians, who both save a portion of the dough at the making of the Eucharistic bread to be mixed with the next making, so as to maintain a unity of the loaf. It is possible that something of the sort may have been the original custom of the Roman Church, and that it developed into this practice of reserving a portion of the Consecrated Bread for use at the commixture. At any rate, the Pope's Eucharist leavened, as it were, the Eucharist in the other churches, and the idea of unity and one Eucharist was so preserved. But, as we see, this practice has no bearing whatever on the question as to whether leavened or unleavened bread was used.

Perhaps it may be added, as we are dealing with this custom of the Roman Church, that St. Thomas Aquinas states that St. Gregory the Great says that it was the custom of the Roman Church of his day to celebrate with unleavened bread: "Dicit enim Beatus Gregorius in *Registro*: 'Romana Ecclesia offert azymos panes propterea quod Dominus sine commistione ulla suscepit carnem'" (P. III., Q. lxxiv. Art. iv.). This quotation is not, however, to be found in any of the extant writings of St. Gregory, and St. Thomas has apparently made a mistake in assigning it to him.

¹ *Ordo Romanus* I, 22.

In the valuable *Homilies of Narsai*, a Syrian Father whose descriptions of the liturgy of his day (†502) are of the greatest interest and importance, we find nothing said as to the use of leavened or unleavened bread. In Homily xvii., "an exposition of the Mysteries," he says: "He now begins to break the Body little by little, that it may be easy to distribute to all the receivers."¹ The context makes it fairly clear that only one loaf is used, and we may fairly conclude that, if unleavened bread had been used, some explanation would have been given in a work of this sort.

The Venerable Bede (673-731) tells us that in the time of Mellitus (Bishop of London, c. 603) "panis nitidus" was used at the Eucharist. Bede tells us that after the death of Sæberct, King of Essex, his three heathen sons came and demanded of Mellitus that he should give them that "white bread" ("panem nitidum") which he used to give to their father.²

"Panis nitidus" is not, however, wafer-bread, but white or wheaten bread in contradistinction to cakes made of other meal.³

Moreover, I think that it may be questioned whether the unleavened bread was at first white like that of to-day; more probably it was like the Jewish Passover-cakes, somewhat brown and scorched.

Bede himself comments on the Jewish Passover and rites as follows (*in Luc. xxii.*): "Quia videlicet et Pascha dies in azymis panibus est celebrari preceptus et nos quasi pascha perpetuum facientes semper ex hoc mundo transire præcipimur. Una quippe die agno immolato ad vesperam septem ex ordine dies sequuntur azymorum. Quia Christus Jesus

¹ *The Homilies of Narsai*, Dom R. H. Connolly, M.A. (Cambridge, 1909), p. 23.

² Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* II, v.

³ Anthimus, a contemporary of Charlemagne, speaks of "panem nitidum, bene fermentatum et non azimum" (*de Observat. Ciborum*).

semel pro nobis in plenitudine temporum passus est carne, per omne nobis huius sæculi tempus quod septem diebus agitur in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis præcipit esse vivendum."

Here, surely, Bede must have mentioned the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist if such was the use in his day. But it is noticeable here, and in other like passages from other Fathers which I have quoted, that the unleavened bread in the Passover represents that which was to come, and when the law was fulfilled in the new dispensation the shadow, the "umbra," the law and all its observances and ceremonies, had fulfilled their purpose and had passed away. It is almost inconceivable that in these passages, all dealing with the same subject, there would not have been at least in some of them some reference to the use of unleavened bread in the Christian Passover if any such use had been known to the authors.

We come now to definite evidence.

In the *XVIth Council of Toledo* (693) the question of the bread used in the Eucharist and the irreverent carelessness of the clergy is dealt with in Canon VI. :—"Ad conventus etenim nostri agnitionem delatum est, eo quod in quibusdam Hispaniarum partibus, quidam sacerdotum, partim nescientia impliciti, partim temerario ausu provocati, non panes mundos et studio præparatos supra mensam Domini in sacrificio offerunt, sed passim quomodo unumquemque aut necessitas impulerit aut voluntas coegerit, de panibus suis usibus præparatis crustulam in rotunditatem auferunt, eamque super altare cum vino et aqua pro sacro libamine offerunt."

The Canon goes on to adduce the example of our Lord against such irreverent practices, and concludes :

"Unde temeritatis huius aut nescientiæ cupientes ponere terminum, id unanimatis nostræ delegit conventus ut non aliter panis in altari Domini sacerdotali benedictione sancti-

ficandus præparatus, nisi integer et nitidus qui ex studio fuerit præparatus neque grande aliquid sed modica tantum oblata secundum quod ecclesiastica consuetudo retentat: cuius reliquiæ aut ad conservandum modico loculo, absque aliqui iniuria facilius conserventur, aut si ad consumendum fuerit necessarium, non ventrem illius qui sumpserit," etc.

In Canon X. of the English *Council of Chelsea* (787) the same matter is dealt with shortly.

"Oblationes quoque fidelium tales fiant ut panis sit non crusta."

These two Councils are interesting and definite. They deal with the irreverence and casual conduct of the clergy. Frequently, instead of using bread which has been specially and reverently prepared for this holy use, the clergy have just taken bread from their own larders, any piece of a loaf being sufficient, and, cutting it into a round cake, have used it in the celebration. It is evident that this is not unleavened bread. It is doubtful whether sometimes, in the cases referred to, it was bread at all, *i.e.* wheaten.

The Canon of Toledo strictly enjoins that the loaf used at the Eucharist shall be "whole and wheaten" ("integer et nitidus"), while that of Chelsea forbids it to be taken from the stale odds and ends of the priest's larder.

Mr. Warren, in his *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*,¹ argues that the custom in Ireland was to use unleavened bread. He quotes Döllinger, who gathered that the Celtic Church differed from the rest of Christendom, from an old Irish Canon which says: "Gildas ait: Britones toto mundo contrarii moribus Romanis inimici non solum in Missa sed etiam in tonsura cum Judæis umbræ futurorum servientes. . . ." It is difficult to see how this quotation touches the question of the use or

¹ F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxf. 1881, pp. 131-2).

non-use of azymes at all, and it may safely be dismissed as irrelevant.

Mr. Warren, however, goes on to quote from Walafrid Strabo in support of his contention :

“Dum de huiusmodi colloquium rebus haberent, superveniens Joannes diaconus secundum consuetudinem obtulit ei panes azymos et lagunculam vini.”¹

But if he had continued the quotation a little further he would have made it clear that these azymes had nothing at all to do with the Eucharist. The extract in full runs :

“Dum de huiusmodi colloquium rebus haberent, superveniens Joannes diaconus secundum consuetudinem obtulit ei panes azymos et lagunculam vini, oleum et butirum et mel in vasculis cum piscibus assis. Vir Dei cum eum venire cognovisset gratias agit Deo gaudio plenus, discubueruntque tres convivæ fidissimi et cum gratiarum actione dona Domini perceperunt.”

The quotation in full places it beyond doubt that the “panes azymos” have nothing whatever to do with the Eucharist, but were part of the regular food of the saint.

It may, perhaps, be convenient here to draw attention to the idea of the “one loaf,” even as late as the time of the *Gregorian Sacramentary*. On the Feast of St. Felix in that Sacramentary, in the prayer “ad complendum,” allusion is made to the one loaf of Communion in the words, “Spiritus tuum nobis Domine tuæ charitatis infunde, ut quos uno pane cælesti satiasti,” etc.

The first probable mention of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist is made by the great English scholar *Alcuin*. He says (*Epist. lxi. ad Fratres Lugdunenses*) : “Audivimus quoque aliquos in illis partibus adfirmare salem esse in sacrificium Corporis Christi mittendum.

¹ Walafridus Strabo, *Vita S. Galli*, i. 17,

Quam consuetudinem nec universalis observat Ecclesia nec Romana custodit auctoritas . . . sic et panis qui in Corpus Christi consecratur absque fermento ullius alterius infectionis debet esse mundissimus. . . ."

Even here it is not certain that Alcuin means that the bread should be unleavened. But he clearly shows that leavened bread was very commonly in use in his days.

Soon after the time of Alcuin, *Paschasius Radbertus* (844) wrote in support of the new doctrine of transubstantiation a work *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*. Perhaps he was familiar with the use of unleavened bread, though it is not at all certain.

He says (xx. 3): "Hæc est namque vera et nova conspersio sinceritatis et veritatis ut simus azymi sine fermento malitiæ et nequitiae. Nam in calice nihil aliud bibimus quam Christi sanguinem, ubi et nos per aquam admisti cointi sumus: in pane vero nihil præter corpus ubi nos per Christi conspersionem iam membra sumus . . . Hæc igitur conspersio de multis granis facit unum Corpus, corpus inquam sinceritatis et veritatis si tamen sumus azymi id est absque fermento malitiæ et nequitiae."

His language recalls that of St. Cyprian, but it is not unlikely that Paschasius has in mind the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.

The great adversary of Paschasius, Rhabanus Maurus, is, however, quite definite in his reply, *de Institutione Clericorum*.

I. xxxi. "Nec enim in sacramentis aliud offerri licet nisi quod Dominus ipse constituit et suo exemplo facere nos docuit."

He then proceeds to quote 1 Cor. xi. 23-5, and goes on:

¹ The mention of bread with salt in it is probably of ordinary leavened bread. Alcuin seems to mean that already the general Roman custom was to use the unleavened bread.

“Ergo panem infermentatum et vinum aqua mistum in sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Christi sanctificari oportet, quia ipsas res de se Dominum testificari Dominicum evangelium narrat.”

And again : “Quod autem panem sacrificii sine fermento esse oporteat testatur liber Leviticus ubi commemoratur Dominum per Moysen filiis Israel ita præcepisse, ‘omnis,’ inquit, ‘oblatio quæ offertur Domino absque fermento fiat, nec quidquam fermenti ac mellis adolebitur in sacrificio Domini’ (Lev. ii. 11).”

Thus, then, by the middle of the ninth century it is clear that unleavened bread had come into use in the West. It may be inferred, from the insistence of Rhabanus Maurus on the propriety of using unleavened, that leavened bread was also in use at the same time.

In the year 867 the Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, denounced the Latin Church. He flings at the Latins their observance of the Saturday fast and their prohibition of marriage to priests as unorthodox, but makes no mention of the use of unleavened bread in the Latin Church, which was to become, about a century later, a matter of such bitter controversy between Eastern and Western.

Commenting on this fact of his making no mention of unleavened bread, Bona says : “Ex quo silentio, si non evidenti saltem probabili consecutione deducitur, azymi panis usum circum annum Christi 860 nondum in Ecclesia latina viguisse” (*Rer. Liturg.* I. xxiii. iv.).

It may perhaps be convenient at this point, before we pass on to the great controversy between East and West, to consider the causes which led to the introduction of unleavened bread into general use in the West.

The real reason seems to have been considerations of convenience.

We must remember that there was a great difference

between the civilisations of East and West. In the West many regions were almost barbarous and we can understand how very difficult it must have been to be sure of getting a supply of fine, pure, wheaten bread.¹ Of course, leavened bread is much more difficult to keep in anything like a fresh condition than unleavened. Thus we see that the use of unleavened bread, with its better keeping properties, would be a matter of the greatest convenience.

In the same way the Councils of Toledo and Chelsea show a common irreverence on the part of the clergy in using any piece of bread for the Sacrament. The best way to obviate such irreverence was to require for sacramental purposes a special bread not in every-day domestic use.

Again, about this time the process of the hedging of the sanctity of the Sacrament had begun. It was less likely that people should regard the consecrated Sacrament as "mere bread" if the bread used was not common bread. The same process was continued in the introduction of the ablutions after Communion, probably somewhat later.

In all probability all these three reasons helped to bring about the general use of the wafer-bread in the West.

It was easy enough to find scriptural grounds for the use when once it had been introduced. It was commonly believed in the West, at least, that it was at a Passover-meal that our Lord had instituted the Blessed Sacrament—there was the authority of our Lord Himself. But probably still more did the commonly quoted text of St. Paul, which seemed so apt to the case, lend itself to the support of the custom—I Cor. v. 7, 8: "For even Christ our Passover

¹ Even as late as 1773 wheaten bread was a luxury unknown in parts of the Highlands of Scotland. "I also gave each person a bit of wheat bread, which they had never tasted before" (Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 123 (Everyman's Library Ed.)).

is sacrificed for us : therefore let us keep the feast, not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness ; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

Thus, then, we may conclude that the introduction of this use in the West was based on utility ; a spiritual meaning was soon found for it.¹

¹ Many of the ceremonial usages of the Church were based on utilitarian grounds ; it was only in later days that spiritual significations were found for such usages, *e.g.* the use of lights and the mixing of the chalice.

II

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

WE have seen that, towards the end of the ninth century, the use of unleavened bread had become more or less general throughout the West. In the eleventh century it became a matter of bitter controversy between East and West. The relations of the two great divisions of the Church represented by Rome and Constantinople had been very strained for some time past, and the jealousies which led to the final rupture in the time of Michael Cærularius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1043-59) unhappily found too easily pretexts and excuses for schism.

Photius had, in 867, objected to certain practices in the Roman Church. Michael insisted on these objections once more and added to the list the Western use of unleavened bread, which it is of importance to note that Photius had not mentioned.

The controversy began in a letter¹ from Michael and Leo the Bulgarian, Archbishop of Achrida, to John, Bishop of Trani, in Apulia, a district over which the Constantinopolitan patriarchs had had, and still claimed, jurisdiction. In this letter John of Trani is warned against the errors of the Latins, especially against the use of unleavened bread and the observance of the Sabbath, both of which were condemned as Judaising.

¹ This letter is extant only in a Latin translation.

The Greeks quote St. Matthew's account of the Institution, and point out how our Lord said, "This is My blood of the *New Testament*," by which He shows that the things belonging to the old dispensation (*veteris testamenti*) are thereby done away with. Then they pass on to the significance and derivation of ἄσπτος. "Vos quidem 'panem,' nos ἄσπτον dicimus. Ἄσπτος autem interpretatur 'elevatus' et 'sursum portatus,'¹ a fermento et sale calorem et elevationem habens." Unleavened bread is lifeless. "Azymæ autem nil distant a lapide sine anima." They then go on, doubtless, with the great Latin text, 1 Cor. v. 7, in their mind, to apply this derivation to the Christian Passover: "Nostrum Pascha gaudium et lætitia totum est et extollit nos ex humo propter gaudium ad cælum sicut et fermentum propter proprium calorem panem, qui panis omni suavitate plenus est." Finally, the use of unleavened bread was instituted under the Mosaic law, and does not commemorate the death of the Lord, and under the new dispensation is past and done away with.

This joint letter was answered at great length by Pope Leo IX. The Pope begins by setting forth the great importance of preserving the unity of the Church, which is imperilled by such an attitude as that taken up by Michael and Leo of Achrida. He then goes on, full of indignation at the presumption shown by Michael and his ally in daring to criticise the Roman Church: "Tu, carissime nobis et adhuc dicende in Christo Frater, tuque Leo Acridane, dicimini apostolicam et Latinam Ecclesiam nova presumptione atque incredibili audacia, nec auditam nec convictam, damnasse, pro eo maxime quod de azymis

¹ This derivation is doubtful. Dionysius Bar Salibi († 1171) draws the same distinction between the Syriac words ܐܨܬܐܝܬܐ (= ἄσπτος) and ܐܨܬܐܝܬܐ (= ἄζυμος), *Expositio Liturgiæ*, p. 26 (Corpus Script. Christ. Orientalium, Paris, 1903).

commemorationem dominicæ passionis celebrare. . . . Ecce iam post mille ac ferme xx a passione Salvatoris nostri annos incipit per vos discere Romana Ecclesia qualiter memoria passionis eiusdem sit recolenda. . . .”

But the Western point of view was taken up by one who was a much abler man to deal with the question than Leo seems to have been. This was Cardinal Humbert, Bishop of Silva Candida. Humbert’s rejoinder to Michael and Leo of Achrida takes the form of a discussion between a Roman and a Constantinopolitan, and is most moderate and reasonable in its tone.

His chief point is, as against the Greek position, that *panis* may mean any sort of bread. He quotes in support of this Ps. lxxviii. 24, 25 : “and gave them food from heaven : so man did eat angels’ food” ; Exod. xvi. 16, “This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat”—both of Manna. And again, the angels who came to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 6) are said to have eaten “subcinericios panes” (*ἄρτους ὑποτέφρους*, though the latter expression is not used in the passage in question in the LXX). Again, he argues, the expression *ἄρτον ταπεινώσεως* is equivalent to *azyma*. He does not seem to have noticed that in each case that he cites, *ἄρτος* does not stand alone, but is qualified by some other word.

Moreover, he points out that, in the New Testament, leaven is always used in a bad sense.

Then he goes on to give what was probably one of the chief reasons why unleavened bread became general in the West, whether he was conscious of it or not, and that is the great convenience of the use of unleavened, and the absence of crumbs—§ xxiv. : “Deinde ritum vestrum discere non curamus quia minimam cautelam et maximam negligentiam

¹ Binius, *Concilia Generalia*, iii. pt. 2, p. 1097. Leo ended soon after this by anathematising Michael and all who held to him.

ei inesse cognoscimus, dum sanctum panem frangentes et sumentes, hinc inde decidentes micas non curatis—quod etiam solet contingere dum patinas sanctas foliis palmarum et porcorum setis fricatis inhoneste.” Then he goes on to charge the Greek clergy with irreverence: “Multi quoque vestrum tam irreverenter Corpus Christi reponunt ut pyxides inde cumulent et ne decidat aut superfluat manu inculcant. Reliquias quoque oblationis velut communes panes nonnunquam usque ad fastidium sumunt.”

This account which Humbert gives of the irreverence of the Greek clergy may be overdrawn, but we may probably hold, from our knowledge of the general carelessness of the clergy of all times, that it is on the whole not far from the truth.

Apart from the fact that Humbert gives the probable reason why unleavened bread became general in the West, he seems to hint that the use of a bread which was unfamiliar in daily domestic use is more likely to keep in the mind of priest and people the sanctity of the Blessed Sacrament and to obviate its being regarded as “communis panis.”

The controversy was maintained on the Greek side by Nicetas Pectoratus, a monk of Studium, who rejoins with much the same arguments as had been previously used, that the use of unleavened is a Judaising custom, that “panis” does not ever mean “azymum,” and that, as to the Latin argument from the Institution, that falls to the ground inasmuch as the Blessed Sacrament was not instituted as a Passover-meal at all. Cardinal Humbert, in his next contribution to the controversy, abandons his moderate tone and descends to violent and coarse abuse of the Greeks.

¹ He also, quite rightly, points out that the 11th Canon of the Trullan Council (which forbids any clergyman or layman to eat any Jewish Passover-cakes) has nothing to do with the matter in question. This Canon had been quoted against the Latins.

Dominicus, Patriarch of Grado, also writes on the subject to Peter, Patriarch of Antioch. His tone is moderate and his chief desire is to preserve the unity of the Catholic Church. He pleads that each part of the Church should retain its own use. Each party gives a special significance to its own use, the Greeks seeing, in the "*fermenti et farinæ commistio*," the "*Incarnati Verbi substantia*"; while, on the other hand, the Latins see signified in their unleavened bread the purity of the human nature of our Lord: "*quam placuit Divinitati Sibi unire citra controversiam*." Dominicus also claims immemorial custom for the Western use. This use, he says, "*non solum apostolica sed etiam ipsam et Domini traditione retinemus*." This means, of course, that the Western use is in conformity with that of our Lord at the Institution. The weak point of the Latin position in the controversy was that they could not claim an unbroken use, but had to go back to the Institution in defence of this practice.

Yet the position of Dominicus is most moderate and reasonable.

Peter of Antioch also answers moderately enough. He begins by having a thrust at Dominicus for calling himself "Patriarch" of Grado. He only knows five patriarchs in the Church, he says. Then, coming to the matter in question, he says that the use of unleavened is at variance with the traditional use of the Catholic Church, and goes on to the now stock argument that *ἄρτος* is the word used in the account of the Institution. The use of *ἄζυμα*, which have only to do with the commemoration of the Jewish deliverance from Egypt, is mere Judaising. Also, unfermented bread is not perfect bread.

He also makes a point of John xiii. 1, that the Institution took place, not at the Paschal-meal, but before the Passover. The Easterns seem to have been committed to their position

(in spite of St. Chrysostom) by the exigencies of their controversy.

So the controversy remained. It was a pretext for justifying the schism more than anything else. The Roman practice may have been an innovation, but the Roman position was moderate and reasonable, and the Western Church never once demanded that the Easterns should conform with the West in this matter. The Easterns, on the other hand, while they had the ancient tradition of the Church on their side, showed a most narrow and obstinate spirit. The Latin attitude has been throughout that, so long as the matter used in the Sacrament is bread, it is an *ἀδιάφορον* whether that bread be leavened or unleavened; the Greek that the leaven is essential to the right matter, and so to the validity of the Sacrament.

An effort was made at a Council at Nymphæum, in Bithynia, in 1233, to settle the question. At this council were representatives from the Latin Church, and a consultation was held to see if any accommodation could be arrived at.

The Latins complained of the aspersions cast by the Greeks on the Latin Eucharist, who were stated to have gone to the length of washing altars which had been used by Western priests before they were used for the Greek rite,¹ and even of compelling folk who came from the Latin jurisdiction to the Greek to abjure the Western Sacraments before admission to Greek Communion.

The conference came to nothing. The old arguments were used. It was argued out whether the Institution took place at a Paschal-meal or not, the Latins maintaining that it did, the Greeks that it did not. But the conference was useless

¹ Worse things than this seem to have been done. In the anathema of Leo against Michael, Cærularius is there joined with the Eastern Patriarch and others in their condemnation: "Et sacellarius ipse Michaelis Constantinus qui latinum sacrificium profanis conculcarit pedibus."

from the very first. It was maintained, from beginning to end, that the Latin Eucharist in unleavened was invalid. "Vos quæritis," says the Greek Archbishop of Sumastria, "si Corpus Christi potest confici in azymo. Et respondemus quia hoc est impossibile." An accommodation was come to by the Council of Florence. It adopted the position of St. Thomas Aquinas, which indeed represents the attitude of the Roman Church throughout the whole controversy. The Florentine Council declares: "Item in azymo sive fermentato pane triticeo Corpus Domini veraciter confici; sacerdotes quoque in altera ipsum Domini Corpus conficere, iuxta suæ latinæ vel orientalis Ecclesiæ consuetudinem."¹ The accommodation, however, was never acted upon, owing to the Eastern repudiation of the Council.

¹ Labbe & Cossart, t. xiii. col. 1136.

III

ENGLAND

IN England unleavened bread came into use doubtless at the same time as in the rest of the West. We may take it for granted that, if Alcuin used unleavened, the same use was already known and practised in England. Henceforth, up to the time of the Reformation, the use went on unbroken.

A few instances, perhaps, may be adduced of references to the Eucharistic bread at this time.

We find in the *Constitutions of William de Bleys* (1229), cap. i. :

Circa species itaque quæ ad idem Sacramentum exiguntur, cura diligentior adhibenda est, ut scilicet oblatae de puro grano frumenti fiant. Ministri ecclesiæ induti superpelliceis in loco honesto sedeant quando oblatas faciunt. Instrumentum in quo oblatae coquendæ sunt cera tantum liniatur, non oleo vel alio sagimento: oblatae honestum candorem et decentem rotunditatem habentes supra mensam altaris offerantur.

It is to be noticed that the round form of the oblatae, which the Council of Toledo recognises, is still retained in the unleavened bread.

The significance of this shape is explained by Durandus (*Rat.* iv. 61): "Per modum denarii formatur tum quia Panis vitæ pro denariis traditus est tum quia idem denarius

in vinea laborantibus in præmium dandus est." Durandus is here following Honorius of Autun (*fl.* 1130).

Probably before unleavened bread came into use it was customary to use bread in a round form, and unleavened bread naturally kept to the traditional shape. The explanation of Durandus is doubtless an attempt to explain a use the origin of which was lost.

It is perhaps to be noticed that there is no mention here of any imprint on the wafers.

In a Synod held at Exeter in 1287 under Peter Quivil it is ordered (cap. iv.) :

"Provideant igitur sacerdotes quod oblatas habeant confectas de simila frumenti et aqua dumtaxat ; ita quod nihil immisceatur fermenti ; sint et oblatae integræ candidæ et rotundæ : nec per tantum tempus custodianatur quod in sapore vel aspectu abominabiles habeantur."

Again, in the *Constitutiones Synodales Sodorenses* (1350) it is ordered (cap. ii.) :

"Hostia de frumento sit, rotunda et integra et sine macula, quia agnus extitit sine macula et os non fuit comminutum ex eo. Unde versus :

"Candida, triticea, tenuis, non magna, rotunda,
Expers fermenti, non mista sit hostia Christi,
Inscribatur, aqua non cocta sed igne sit assa."

Here we find mention made of a device printed upon the Host, which was generally, if not always, the crucifixion.

These three references are sufficient to illustrate the English use up to the Reformation. Great care was shown that the wafers should be whole, and as white as possible.

As to the preparation of the bread, Maskell¹ quotes a rule drawn up by Archbishop Lanfranc for the Order of St. Benedict : "And on the day on which the hosts are to

¹ *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, pp. 46, 47 n.

be made, let the secretarius and the brethren who shall assist him wash their hands and faces before they begin, and vest themselves in albs and veil their heads in amices, except that one who is to manage the irons and otherwise to serve them. Let one of them sprinkle the flour with water on a perfectly clean table, and press it firmly with his hands and knead it, and let the brother who holds the irons in which [the wafers] are cooked have his hands covered with gloves. In the meantime, while the hosts are being made and cooked, let the same brethren say the ordinary psalms of the hours and the canonical hours, and from the Psalter in order as much as may be sufficient, if they prefer it."

This rule is interesting as presenting something of a parallel to the rites accompanying the preparation of the Eucharistic breads among the Nestorians, etc., but there seems to have been no such custom general in the West. In the *Constitutions of William de Bleys*, quoted above, the ministers who make the bread are ordered to wear surplices.

No change was made in the communion bread until the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. was issued in 1549.

The *Order of Communion*, published in 1548, expressly orders that the bread shall be as used heretofore.

"Note, that the breade that shalbe consecrated shalbe such as heretofore hath bene accustomed, and euery of the sayd consecrated breades shalbe broken in twoo peces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the ministre, and so distributed. . . ." (First note at end of the "Order.")

In the First Prayer Book (1549) a change is made, though the bread is still to be unleavened. The Third Rubric at the end of the Mass gives the following directions :

"For aduoyding of all matters and occasyon of

dyscencyon, it is mete that the breade prepared for the Communion, bee made, through all thys realme, after one sort and fashion, that is to say, unleauened, and rounde, as it was afore, but without all maner of printe, and somethyng more larger and thicker than it was, so that it maybe aptly deuided into diuers pieces: and euery one shall be deuided in two pieces at the leaste, or more, by the discrecion of the minister, and so distributed."

So the first change is made. The wafer is to be plain and larger and thicker than before.

The Second Prayer Book of King Edward in 1552 makes a great change:

"And to take away the supersticion whiche any person hathe, or myghte haue in the bread and wyne, it shall suffyse that the bread bee suche as is usuall to bee eaten at the Table wyth other meates, but the best and purest wheate bread that conueniently maye be gotten" (Fourth Rubric after the Communion).

Here an alternative use is for the first time provided and allowed. It is permitted to the priest to use leavened bread if he choose instead of the wafer, so that it be bread—that is to say, wheaten, and the purest procurable.

The Second Book, however, was no sooner issued than the King died, and the book was dropped before it came into anything like general use.

Elizabeth, after the Marian reaction, issued, as is well known, an improved edition of the Second Prayer Book which had so short an existence.

In Elizabeth's book, which was issued in 1559, the rubric on the communion bread stands word for word the same as in the Second Prayer Book of King Edward, thus leaving the clergy free to use leavened bread if they choose in place of the wafer.

This, however, was not the end of the matter.

In the *Injunctions* issued by the Queen in 1559, it is ordered :

“Where also it was in the time of King Edward the sixth used to have the Sacramental bread of common fine bread, it is ordered for the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the said Sacramental bread be made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and water, heretofore named singing Cakes, which served for the use of the Private Mass.”¹

“Item, that the communion bread be thicker and broader than is now commonly used.”²

Here is the rubric of the First Prayer Book of King Edward reissued in a slightly different form. Also this injunction gives us the information that leavened bread was in use in King Edward's time.³ Since the Second Prayer Book was never in general use, this means that leavened bread was in use in places at least under the First Prayer Book and in defiance of the rubric of that book.

Also it would seem that Elizabeth had not noticed that the rubric of the Second Book was repeated in her own, for the *Injunctions* were issued soon after her book appeared.

This Injunction that the Archbishop and Bishops tried their best to enforce caused much trouble, as the *Zurich Letters* show. George Withers writes to the Elector

¹ *Injunctions given by the Queen's Majesty*, p. 13. London, MDLIX.

² *The Interpretations of the Bishops*, p. 32. Alcuin Club Tract. Longmans, 1908.

³ Bishop Horn, writing to Henry Bullinger, and describing the order of administration of Common Prayer and the Sacraments in the time of Edward VI., says : “The bread which is used at the Lord's Supper is of the usual kind, but the purest that may be gotten” (*Zurich Letters*, 2nd series, app. ii, p. 355). His description of the order shows that he is speaking of Edward's Second Book.

Palatine, Frederick III., apparently just after the publication of the Injunction :

“Cærimoniz vero, quæ prima reformatione Edwardi (quemadmodum prius dictum est) relictæ in ecclesia sunt, sub eodem nomine restituuntur. Reginæ præterea et Archiepiscopo superinducendi quas velint cærimonias potestas data est,¹ qui statim postea et panem communem prius ad celebrandam cœnam constitutum aboluerunt, et novioris renovationis causa placentulam rotundam, ad formam eius qua papistæ utebantur, instituerunt.”²

In 1560, Peter Martyr answers the queries of Thomas Sampson on the subject: “De pane infermentato qui adhibetur cœnæ sacræ, tu ipse nosti omnes Ecclesias nostras non litigare, imo omnes passim uti.”³ To the same effect Peter Martyr had answered Grindal’s doubts when Bishop-Elect of London in 1559.⁴

An attempt was made over a period of some years to enforce the use of wafer bread. Thus we find in Parker’s *Visitation Articles* of 1563 :

“Item, whether they do use to minister the Communion in wafer bread according to the Quene’s maiestie’s Iniunctions, or in common bread ?”

This article is repeated in the articles to be inquired of in the Diocese of Norwich at the Metropolitan Visitation of Matthew Parker in 1567.

But there was much opposition. Miles Coverdale, Lawrence Humphry, and Thomas Sampson, writing to

¹ “And also, that if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church by the misusing of the orders appointed in this book, the Queen’s Majesty may, by the like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, ordain and publish such further Ceremonies or Rites as may be most for the advancement of God’s glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christ’s holy mysteries and Sacraments” (Act of Uniformity, anno 1° Eliz., *sub fine*).

² *Zurich Letters*, 2nd series, p. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 46. Oxford, 1822.

William Farrell, say (in 1566): "Res nostræ non in melius commutatæ, sed, proh dolor! in deterius prolapsæ sunt. Hæc enim acta et transacta sunt, ut loco panis vulgaris placentula azyma habeatur."

The difficulties which the Bishops had to encounter were seen in the attitude of some puritan nonconformists who were brought before Bishop Grindal in 1567, and with whom the Bishop argued some of the points of difference.

Strype says (*Life of Grindal*, p. 173): "The Bishops knowing the reverence they had for the Church of Geneva, shewed how they communicated in wafer-cakes, one of the things used then in the administration of the Sacrament, and which they were much against. One said they of Geneva did not compel so to receive. The Bishop said 'Yes, in their parish churches.' But another of their party put that off by saying that the English congregation there did minister with loaf-bread. And another said that it was best to follow the best example, and that they were to follow that Church of Geneva as that followed Christ."

A letter written by Archbishop Parker to Sir William Cecil, in January 1570¹, gives us a pretty clear view of the state of things. I give it in full from Parker's *Correspondence*.¹

"SIR,

"Whereupon upon the return of My Lord of London (Edwin Sandys) from the court, we had communication of the Communion bread, and he, seeming to signify to me that your Honour did not know of any rule passed by law in the Communion book that it may be such bread 'as is usually eaten at the table with other meats,' &c., I thought it good to put you in remembrance, and to move your consideration in the same. For it is a matter of much

¹ *Correspondence*, p. 376, Parker Society.

contention in the realm : where most part of protestants think it most meet to be in wafer bread, as the injunction prescribeth ; divers others, I cannot tell of what spirit, would have the loaf bread, &c. And hereupon one time at a sessions would one Master Fogg have indicted a priest for using wafer bread, and one indirectly for charging the wafer bread by injunction : where the judges were Mr. Southcoots and Mr. Gerrard, who were greatly astonied upon the exhibiting of the book. And I being then in the country, they counselled with me, and I made reasons to have the injunction prevail. First, I said, as her Highness talked with me once or twice on that point, and signified that there was one proviso in the Act of the Uniformity of Common Prayer that by law is granted unto her, that ‘if there be any contempt or irreverence used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church by the misusing of the orders appointed in the book, the queen’s Majesty may, by the advice of her commissioners, or metropolitan, ordain or publish such further ceremonies or rites, as may be most for the reverence of Christ’s holy mysteries and sacraments,’ and but for which law her Highness would not have agreed to divers orders of the book. And by virtue of which law she published further order in her injunctions, both for the Communion bread and for the placing of the tables within the quire. They that like not the injunctions force much the statute in the book. I tell them that they do evil to make odious comparison betwixt statute and injunction, and yet I say and hold that the injunction hath authority by proviso of the statute. And whereas it is said in the rule,¹ that ‘to take away the superstition which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread is such as is usually eaten at the table with other meats, &c.’; ‘it shall suffice,’ I expound, where either there wanteth such

¹ *I.e.* the rubric in the Prayer Book.

fine usual bread, or superstition be feared in the wafer bread, they may have the Communion in fine usual bread, which is rather a toleration in these two necessities than is in plain ordering, as in the injunction.

“This I say to shew you the ground which hath moved me and others to have it in the wafer bread ; a matter not greatly material, but only obeying the queen’s Highness, and for that the most part of her subjects disliketh the common bread for the sacrament. And therefore as her Highness and you shall determine, I can soon alter my order, although now quietly received in my diocese, and I think would breed some variance to alter it. I hear also that in the court you be come to use the usual bread. Sir, the great disquiet babbling that the realm is in in this matter maketh me thus long to babble, and would be loth that now your saying and judgement should so be taken as ye saw a law that should prejudice the injunction.”

This important letter gives us a general idea of the prevalence of the use of wafer-bread in 1570. For ten years now the Archbishop had been insisting on the injunction, and apparently with great success. The wafer-bread was now “quietly received in my diocese,” and Parker says that “the most part of her subjects disliketh the common bread for the sacrament.” The greatest proof of the wide prevalence of the wafer-bread is shown by the fact that two judges did not even know of the rubric, and were astonished when Parker told them of it.

On the other hand, the strenuous minority of Puritans insisted on the force of the rubric, though Parker says plainly that he regards the injunction as “further order,” and as having authority under the Act of Uniformity. But the latter part of the letter shows that Cecil is now favouring the Puritans in this question. Ordinary bread is now in use

even in the Queen's chapel, and Parker evidently fears that Cecil is taking the line that the injunction has no force as against the rubric.

Whether Parker had been too optimistic in his views as expressed in this letter, or, as is more likely, the growth in power of the Puritan party, encouraged and supported by influential persons at Court, had undone the Archbishop's work, he writes in a very different strain to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, on June 14, 1574: "And as for their contention of wafer bread and loaf-bread, if the order you have taken will not suffice them, they may fortune hereafter to wish they had been more conformable, although I trust that you mean not universally in your diocese to command or wink at the loaf-bread, but for peace and quietness here and there to be contented therewith."¹

Evidently in the Norwich Diocese the use of wafer-bread is the exception. Parker's suffragans were not loyal, and the Archbishop evidently more than suspects the Bishop of Norwich of being lukewarm in the cause.

Henceforward we hear but little of the subject. Other questions of a more important nature, such as kneeling at the Communion, and the general government of the Church, excluded a controversy on what was, after all, as Parker says in his letter to Cecil, "a matter not greatly material."

Thus in the later Visitation Articles we do not find this inquiry as to wafer-bread.

The rubric was repeated in the Prayer Book under James I., but the use of wafer-bread had not by any means died out. It was only the Great Rebellion, ending in fifteen years of Puritan supremacy, that brought the use to an end till it was revived in our own day.

The *Canons of 1604* order simply "wheaten bread" (*panis siligineus*) in Canon 20.

¹ Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 460.

Archbishop Bancroft's Metropolitan Visitation Articles of 1605 simply inquire "whether the churchwardens doe provide against every communion with the advice of the Minister a sufficient quantity of fine Whit Bread. . . ." This is the line taken by all the Visitation Articles which touch the matter henceforward. There is no mention of the wafer-bread, but only an insistence of "fine whit bread" or "fine white bread." "Whit" is white, or wheaten, in contradistinction to loaves of other meal in general domestic use. But the use of the wafer-bread was still retained by the High Church party, as there is plenty of evidence to show, and apparently in the Chapels Royal.

For example, at Westminster Abbey there seems to have been an unbroken use of unleavened bread until the Great Rebellion and persecution of the Church at that time made the break in the continuity of church life which saw the end of the cope and the wafer together. Thus, at least on two occasions there was trouble in the Puritan House of Commons on this Westminster use.

On April 14, 1614, we learn that it was resolved that the whole House is to receive the Communion not at Westminster Abbey, "for feare of copes and wafer cakes," but at St. Margaret's.¹

Again, we read it recorded in 1621: "Note that the Speaker of the Commons acquainted the House that the Dean and Chapter of Westminster refuse to permit them to receive Communion there because they were not first asked, and because the preacher was not one of themselves, but that if they would appoint a Canon preacher they might receive the Communion with ordinary bread; and that the House of Commons rejected the offer and chose the Temple Church."²

¹ A letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, State Papers, Domestic, lxxvii, 7.

² Feb., 16, 1621 (State Papers, Domestic),

The use of the Chapels Royal is probably represented by the arrangements made for the worship in Prince Charles's private chapel during his visit to Spain. Among the instructions given to the Prince's chaplains it is directed, "That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an oblation of every communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine: the Communion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down; smooth Wafers to be used for the Bread."¹

Yet, on the other hand, such decided High Churchmen as John Cosin seem to have been quite content with the ordinary leavened bread. Prynne, in *Canterburie's Doome*, where he is describing Cosin's ceremonial at Peterhouse, mentions the knife used for the cutting of the bread for Communion, but does not say anything about any use by Cosin of unleavened bread.² It is noticeable, too, that Cosin himself, in his Archidiaconal Visitation of the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1627,³ inquires simply, "Doth he carefully see to the preparation of the Bread and Wine before every Communion, that they be pure and wholesome? . . ."

Prynne has much to say on the ceremonial of Archbishop Laud's private chapel in his *Canterburie's Doome*. There, among the list of the Archbishop's ornaments, appears "a silver and gilt candlesticke [*sic*] for wafers."⁴ Thus it is evident that the alternative uses of leavened and unleavened bread went on side by side,⁵ and that the use of ordinary

¹ Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 100. London, MDCLXXI.

² Nor is there any mention of wafer-bread in Peter Smart's complaints against Cosin's doings at Durham.

³ Cosin's *Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 118. Surtees Soc., 1868.

⁴ Page 123.

⁵ A list of instances of the use of unleavened bread at this time is to be found in *Hierurgia Anglicana*, part ii. pp. 129-43, ed. by the Very Rev. Vernon Staley (London: Alex. Moring, 1903). It is superfluous, therefore, to give it here.

bread was by no means confined to the Low Church party.

After the Great Rebellion the question came up once more at the Savoy Conference. There an attempt was made, but unsuccessfully, to alter the rubric. Thus, in the Prayer Book presented to the Conference by Cosin, the rubric appears in the following shape : "It shall suffice that the bread shall be such as is usuall, yet the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten, though wafer bread, pure and without any figure, shall not be forbidden, especially in such churches where it hath bin accustomed. The wine also shalbe of the best and purest that may be had."¹

But the attempt to change the rubric was unsuccessful, and the rubric was inserted in a form almost identical with that of the Second Book of Edward VI. :

"And to take away all occasion of dissension, and superstition, which any person hath or might have, concerning the Bread and Wine, it shall suffice that the bread is such as is usual to be eaten ; but the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten."

The break in church life in the seventeenth century of the fifteen years, 1645-60, during which the Liturgy of the Church of England was not heard in her churches, did away with many old uses, among which may be reckoned the use in some churches of wafer-bread. Apparently it was very little used, if indeed at all, after the Restoration. The best proof of this is to be seen, perhaps, in the fact that wafer-bread was not, like the mixed chalice, one of the vexed questions in the "usages" controversy among the non-jurors who represented the High Church party of Restoration times.

Since then, till recent times, the Church of England has

¹ Cosin's *Correspondence*, vol. ii, p. 62.

been content to use ordinary, that is to say leavened, wheat bread.

Her rubric still, as it stands, regards the use of wafer bread as the normal, while giving a wise permission to those who prefer it to use leavened bread, acting in accordance with the axiom of the Pacificator, "in non necessariis libertas."

IV

THE EASTERN CHURCHES

THE Eastern Churches, with the exception of the Armenians and the Maronites, have always used leavened bread ; and there can be little doubt that the same use obtained among the Armenians before the seventh century, and among the Maronites before their union with Rome in the twelfth century.

In the following pages an account is given of the use of all the Eastern communities : of the Orthodox Churches (including Russia), of the Coptic Church, the Abyssinian Church, the East Syrian Church (commonly known as "Nestorians"), the Syrian Orthodox Church (commonly known as "Jacobites"), the Armenian Church, and the Maronites.

The Order for the Renewal of the Holy Leaven among the East Syrians, and the *Form for the preparation of the Eucharistic Bread* among the West Syrians are here given for the first time, so far as I am aware, in English. It is the general custom, throughout the Eastern Churches, to administer both the species of the Holy Sacrament together, by dipping the species of bread into the species of wine, and then placing the Sacrament in the mouth of the communicant. Sometimes a spoon is used for the purpose, as in the Greek, Russian, West Syrian, Coptic (sometimes), and Abyssinian Churches. In the Coptic Church a spoon is not always used. Among the Armenians

GREE ORTHOD X



EUCCHARISTIC BREAD



EULOGIA (JERUSALEM)

RUSSIAN



EUCCHARISTIC BREAD



LOAF OFFERED FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES

a spoon is not used at all, the priest dipping with his fingers a portion of the species of bread into the species of wine. The exception to the Eastern custom is found among the East Syrians, where the two species are administered separately, as with us.

It will be remembered that the two species were administered separately in the Liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and in the time of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. They were so administered separately among the West Syrians in the time of Narsai¹ († c. 502).

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The bread used in the Greek Church consists of a round leavened cake 5 in. by 2 in. It is stamped with a square which is itself divided by a cross into four squares in which are printed IC, XC, NI, KA, *i.e.* Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ (Jesus Christ conquers). The square is ceremonially detached and placed on the paten, and is called "The Lamb." No rites are used in connection with the making of the bread.²

In the Russian Church the bread is formed of two pieces, typical of the twofold nature of Christ. The upper part of the loaf is smaller than the lower part, and the top is stamped with the impression of a cross and the inscription IHC XC NI KA.

In the Greek Church only one loaf is used. In the Russian, though one loaf only may be used, it is the general custom to use five, in remembrance of the miraculous

¹ R. H. Connolly, *Homilies of Narsai*, p. 60 (Camb. Univ. Press, 1909).

² There are other loaves used in connection with the Eucharist, but not for the Eucharist, which must not be confused with the Eucharistic breads. For example, small loaves, stamped with a representation of the Risen Lord, are at Jerusalem blessed during the Liturgy, and afterwards distributed among pilgrims. Loaves of much the same kind are also used for the "Artoklasia."

feeding of the multitude with the five loaves. The Blessed Sacrament is administered in both species together by means of a spoon. The loaf used as the priest's bread is always one stamped with the squares, other loaves, which may be offered by the people, having the figure of a saint impressed on them. The loaf in the illustration is one so offered, and has a legend written round it in ink, "Offered for the Nun Nina." From such loaves offered by individuals a small particle is taken and placed among the other commemorative particles, which are not used for communicating, but are put in the chalice and consumed by the deacon at the end of Mass.

THE COPTS

The Eucharistic bread among the Copts is a round leavened cake four inches across by three-quarters of an inch thick. It is stamped with a cross consisting of twelve little squares, and round the edge runs the inscription in Greek : Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς ἅγιος ἀθάνατος (Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal). The inscription sometimes varies slightly. There are also sometimes five small holes in the cake, representing the five wounds of our Lord. The twelve squares are held to represent the twelve Apostles.

Among the Jacobites and Nestorians, and in the Orthodox Church, oil and salt are used in the making of the bread, but neither is used by the Copts, between whom and the Syrian Jacobites there was a bitter controversy on the matter in the eleventh century.

The bread is made within the precincts of the church by the doorkeeper, or sacristan, who is specially appointed for that purpose.

In the celebration the four central squares, called the



COPTIC EUCHARISTIC LOAF



THE MAUNDY THURSDAY EULOGIA (COPTIC)

Asbadikon (= δεσποτικόν, sc. σῶμα) is broken off at the fraction and used for the commixture.

The Communion is given in both species at once, the Consecrated Bread being slightly dipped in the chalice and placed in the communicant's mouth, sometimes by means of a spoon (*kokliarion*).

The bread in the form of a cross is not strictly Eucharistic bread, but is the Eulogia distributed to the worshippers on Maundy Thursday.

THE ABYSSINIANS

The bread used among the Abyssinians is a round, flat, leavened cake, four inches across by three-quarters of an inch thick. It is stamped with a cross of nine squares, with four squares added in the angles of the cross.

Ludolf¹ makes the statement, which has been quoted from him by Le Brun, that on Maundy Thursday the Abyssinians use unleavened bread, as in the Eucharist. It is noticeable, however, that Jerome Lobo, one of the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries to Abyssinia, though he goes into the uses of the Abyssinians, and mentions their use of leavened bread in common with the rest of Eastern Christendom, makes no reference to this alleged Maundy Thursday use.

On the other hand, it is possible that Ludolf, or his informant, may have based this statement on the form of the words of Institution which occurs in the Ethiopic Liturgy of St. Epiphanius.² It is as follows:

“In that night, the evening of Thursday to the dawning of Friday, when He had sat down in the house of Lazarus,

¹ *Comment. ad suam Hist.*, p. 5, n. 28. Le Brun, who willingly follows him here, elsewhere derides him as utterly untrustworthy.

² *B.M.*, Or. 545, fol. 91 b, col. 1.

His friend, He took bread of wheat, unfermented, of that which they had brought to Him for the supper. . . ."

Failing further evidence than Ludolf's assertion, we may naturally hesitate to accept any such alleged use as an undoubted fact.

THE ORTHODOX SYRIAN CHURCH (SYRIAN JACOBITES)

The Syrian "Jacobite" Eucharistic bread consists of a leavened cake two and three-quarter inches in diameter by three-quarters of an inch thick. It is shaped like a wheel with four diameters, the alternate radii being cut off half-way from the circumference by a concentric circle.

Among the "Jacobites" Holy Leaven is used, but this is not to be confused with the Holy Leaven of the Nestorians. At each making of dough for the bread a small piece is set aside and mixed with the next making of dough, and so the continuity of the Eucharist is emphasised by the unity of the bread used. This piece of dough set aside for mixing with the next making is called the "Holy Leaven." This practice is also followed among the Nestorians, but the Holy Leaven with them is additional, and quite distinct from this.¹

Salt and oil are among the ingredients, though it is now asserted that the oil is simply used on the priest's hands to prevent the dough sticking to them. But a special significance was given to each of these ingredients in olden times. Thus John Bar-Susan, "Jacobite" Patriarch from 1064 to 1073, in his controversy with the Armenian Patriarch of his day, explains that, as Adam was formed of water, air, fire,

¹ There is no mention of this Jacobite practice by Dionysius Bar-Salibi, who flourished in the twelfth century, and who wrote an important *Expositio Liturgiæ*. Even Assemani, *B.O.*, ii. *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, v., does not mention this practice.



ABYSSINIAN EUCHARISTIC BREAD



WEST SYRIAN (JACOBITE) LOAF

and earth, which, with the spirit, make five ingredients, so there is a special meaning in the five ingredients used in making the Eucharistic Bread. So the water used signifies the water used in the creation of Adam, the flour signifies the earth, the salt the fire, the leaven the air, and the oil signifies the spirit.¹

There is also an ancient rule among the Syrian Jacobites that, if more than two loaves be used in the celebration of the Eucharist, the number shall be odd.² Dionysius is also very insistent on the cooking of the bread on the day on which it is to be used, and claims Apostolic authority for this practice. As, however, has been remarked, this practice of baking the bread on the day on which it is to be used is common to the whole Eastern Church, with the exception of the Maronites.

The following is the form with which the Eucharistic bread is prepared.³

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, one true God.

Verses to be said over the Dough [used for] the Kur-bana.

To the chant "The Potter."

After the "Our Father," and Ps. 51, "Have mercy upon me."

"I am the Bread of Life, said Our Lord, which from the height came down to the depth, Food Eternal. The Father sent me, the Word that was not flesh, and as an

¹ Ter-Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche*, p. 99 and pp. 102-3; cf. Dionysius Bar-Salibi, *Expos. Lit.*, p. 27 (Labourt Ed., Paris, 1903).

² Dionysius Bar-Salibi, *Expos. Lit.*, p. 24.

³ I am indebted for this form to the Rev. W. A. Wigram, head of the Assyrian Mission, who most kindly procured it for me from Rahib Ephraim Bar-Soma, Secretary to his Holiness the Patriarch of the Orthodox Syrian Church, more familiar to us under the name of the "Jacobite" Church.

husbandman Gabriel sowed me, and the womb of Mary received me as good ground. And lo! through them priests carry me upon the altar after the type of the Angels."

"On the speaking spheres of fire and spirit. So there is carried that body which Our Lord received from us: and Him the numberless Cherubim bless: and to Him the Seraphim chant 'Holy' with their wings: and cry to Him 'Holy, holy, holy art Thou, O Lord. The Heavens are full of Thee, and the Earth of Thy glory: blessed art Thou for ever.'"

"Let him that hath not received the seal depart, crieth the Church. And ye, the sons of Baptism, come, enter into the sanctuary. Woe to the soul who wanders in the streets at the time when the Mysteries are being celebrated: the table of life is ready, and the Bread of Life upon it, and the cup which is mixed from the side of the Lord unto forgiveness of sins."

"O sinner, wherefore goest thou forth from the holy place at the time when thy Lord is sacrificed upon the altar? Instead of making petition to Him because of thy sinfulness, lo, thou goest forth on a vain pretext. Remain, O man; pray for mercies from God, and cry unto Him, 'Holy, holy, holy art Thou, O God in Heaven and on earth.'"

THE ARMENIANS

The Eastern Churches have always adhered to the use of leavened bread, and claimed that such is the primitive and original practice of the Church, with the exception of the Armenians; and all, except the Maronites, insist on bread being newly made for the Eucharist. The Maronites use the Latin unleavened wafer. The Armenian Church stands alone among the Eastern communities in using

unleavened bread. The origin of this use is difficult to arrive at. It is not due to the Western influence to which the Armenians were subjected in the twelfth century, for it existed long before that date.

The Armenian Church observes another use in connection with the Eucharist which is unique in East and West, and that is the practice of using an unmixed cup. But the two peculiarities do not seem to be connected, for the use of the unmixed cup seems to have been very early, and, at any rate, considerably anterior to the introduction of unleavened bread.

The first hint we get of anything peculiar in the Armenian method of celebrating the Eucharist is in connection with their use of an unmixed cup. This is referred to and reprobated in Canon XXXII. of the Trullan Council of 684; but it is to be noticed that, while this Canon condemns the unmixed cup, it does not even mention any use of unleavened bread—a fact that certainly argues that such a use, if in vogue at all, was certainly not the general and official use of the Armenian Church.

From this date we find but few references to Armenia in Greek writers, partly because the Armenians refused to accept the Council of Chalcedon, and were therefore ecclesiastically cut off from orthodox Eastern Christendom, and partly because Armenia was constantly after this time falling into the hands of the Saracens, and so was politically cut off from the Empire.

In the eleventh century we find a Greek writer, Philippus Solitarius, writing about Armenia and its customs. He speaks of the use of unleavened bread and the unmixed cup as already an ancient custom among the Armenians, and says that old writers among the Armenians declared that these uses had been handed down as a tradition to the Armenian Church by St. Gregory the Illuminator.

Philip's own words may perhaps be given. He says (*de rebus Armen.* vi.): Καὶ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγομένην προσφορὰν ἄζυμον ποιοῦσιν. καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς κοινωνίας ποτηρίῳ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰακωβίτας οἶνον μόνον ἐμβάλλουσι καὶ οὐ παραμιγνύουσι ὕδατι . . . καὶ οἱ νυνὶ χατιζάριοι ἐξ ἀλόγου παραδόσεως ταῦτα ληροῦσι. οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι τούτων καθηγηταὶ τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις θεόφορον καὶ μάρτυρα Γρηγόριον τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας αὐτοῖς παραδοῦναι τὴν τε χωρὶς ζύμης προσφορὰν καὶ τὸ χωρὶς ὕδατος ποτήριον διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄρτον φασὶν ἐκείνων ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ δείπνῳ τοῖς μαθήταις ἔδωκεν ἄζυμον εἶναι καὶ τὸ ποτήριον χωρὶς ὕδατος.

Philip had evidently been at some trouble to investigate the origin of the Armenian peculiarities. The Armenians of his day seem to have been unable to account for them except by simply stating that this was the custom of their Church, and this attitude is probably what Philip is reflecting on when he speaks of the *ἄλογος παράδοσις* which the Armenians of his day follow. But none the less he has discovered the more ancient claim, made by Armenian writers of two or three centuries before, that these practices were received from Gregory the Illuminator.

It is worth noticing that, in the Trullan Canon which condemns the Armenian use of the unmixed cup, it is stated that the Armenians of that date claimed St. Chrysostom as their authority for the use. Now, though this has no particular bearing on the unmixed cup, it has on the question of unleavened bread, because St. Chrysostom alone, I believe, of all Eastern Fathers, did hold that the meal at which the blessed Sacrament was instituted was a Paschal Supper (*de prodit. Judæ.* i. 5).

It is also noticeable that, in the controversy between East and West in the eleventh century, neither side adduced the use of the Armenians,

The Greeks, then, seem to have known but very little about the usages of the Armenians. But when we turn to Eastern sources of information we learn more.

Kalemkiar and Dashian,¹ in the introduction to their volume of Liturgies (p. 68, in Armenian) claim that John Mandakuni, Catholicos of Armenia *c.* 480, witnessed to the use of mixing water with the cup, but his text has been tampered with. He testified, however, neither for nor against the use of unleavened bread.

The same authors point out that in the fourth century the Armenians almost certainly derived their rites from the Syriac Church of Edessa, and would therefore have used azymes. But it is necessary first to show that the Edessene Church of that date used azymes, and such evidence is not forthcoming. There is only one passage in Syriac Patristic literature of this date that can be held at all to touch the subject. Aphraates (*de Paschate*, 8) remarks: "Israel after Passover eats azyne [singular] for seven days until the 21st day of the month: we also keep azymes [plural] at the celebration of our Saviour." But even Aphraates (*c.* 350) is almost certainly not referring to any use of unleavened bread among Christians, but simply to the observance of the Feast of Easter.

We get nearer to definite dates when we find works ascribed to Jacob of Edessa († 708) written against the use among the Armenians of the unmixed cup and unleavened bread.

But we find definite and authoritative information in the Canons of John of Odzun, or Otsun, Catholicos *c.* 718. In his eighth Canon we read:

"It is right also to offer unleavened bread and pure

¹ For this and other information as to the Armenians, and especially for the translation of Armenian documents, I am indebted to Mr. F. C. Conybeare.

wine on the Holy Altar, according to the tradition handed down to us by St. Gregory. And we must not stoop to the traditions of the other races of Christians. For the holy Illuminator carried on this practice from the legal Covenant, and in apostolic wise caused his precept to be carried out by the members of his diocese. In the same way also he prescribes the admixture of the salt of blessing with the animals slain as victims of the Agapes ; and, according to the order of the Levites, he prescribed that the grace of the Church should be reserved in certain chosen families. And we ought to continue the same custom, and not abandon it, nor introduce any innovations.”¹

Here we have already the definite statement that the use of unleavened bread and the unmixed cup is derived by a tradition from Gregory the Illuminator. I have given the concluding part of this Canon to show that there were also other and curious practices in vogue among the Armenians of a Judaistic nature and which were also ascribed to St. Gregory.

In the year 727 or 728 a very important national Council was held at Manazkert. It was attended by Armenian and Syrian Bishops, and met with the intention of repudiating the Chalcedonian Council and of reaffirming Monophysitism and promoting a union among the Monophysite communions.²

Heraclius, after his defeat of the Persians and his recovery of the Cross in 628, had made a great effort to promote a general reunion of the divided Eastern Churches. He succeeded in Grecising and reconciling to the orthodox faith Western Armenia, and an orthodox Catholicos, Ezra by name, was appointed by him. Apparently the Chalce-

¹ The translation is Mr. Conybeare's, and is made from a MS. copy of the Canons.

² E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche*, p. 75.

donian faith then imposed had never again been definitely rejected until the Council was held at Manazkert in 727.

In the Acts of this Council we read :¹

“Accordingly we shall banish the corruptible from the incorruptible ; that is to say, we shall henceforth exclude leaven and water from the life-giving mystery, that those who follow me may not regard this, and by bringing back these corruptions be led astray and fall into the diphysite faith of Chalcedon, and thereby lead astray the dioceses of Armenia, as [was done] by Ezra, who disseminated over our land tares of wrath, which the Lord has enjoined upon me to root up, contriving and establishing a fence indivisible and inseparable. And we shall use the following means against them. We shall exclude leaven and water from the divine Mystery [they being] a pretext for [asserting] the corruptibility of the flesh of Christ² and for its disjunction. Accordingly if henceforth any one shall celebrate the Mystery with leaven, let him be accursed and suffer a severe and extreme punishment.”

This important document is interesting when compared with John's Canon given above. His Canons were in all probability issued on the strength of the decisions of this Council. It is fairly clear, from the above passage of the Acts of this Council, that it was at this time that the use of unleavened bread was made the definite general and authoritative use of the Armenian Church, though probably the practice had been a common though not authoritative one before. Stephen Asolik (who flourished at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century) states that it

¹ The translation is again Mr. Conybeare's, and is from the work entitled, *Of John the Philosopher, Catholicos of the Armenians, concerning the Councils which have been among the Armenians*, contained in the *Letter-book of the Patriarchs* ; the MS. followed was copied from an archetype of the year of the Armenians 527 *i.e.*, 1078.

² This was aimed at the Syrian Julianists.

was at this Council that it was definitely decided to celebrate the Eucharist without leaven or water.¹ Also it is to be noticed that the Acts make no mention of St. Gregory as the originator of the use, while in John's Canons the tradition is referred to in the company of other traditions of a Judaising nature.

In later Armenian writings, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Mr. Conybeare informs me that many passages from the older Fathers are quoted in support of these usages, but that none of them are any proof of the existence of the use of unleavened bread before the eighth century.

The explanation of the custom is not simple. The facts remain as follow. There was a common use of the unmixed cup among the Armenians in the seventh century, as is witnessed to by the Trullan Canon. Also, if the works ascribed to Jacob of Edessa against the use of unleavened bread are really his, then there was also a use of unleavened bread among the Armenians at the end of the seventh century.

This use was not, however, binding, authoritative, and general until it was made so by the Council of Manazkert for doctrinal reasons in 727.

Among the Armenians, as I have mentioned, were observed many strange customs of a Judaising character. One of these was the custom of eating the Passover on Maundy Thursday. This observance John of Odzun, among other things, restricted to priests alone. At this Jewish rite, based on the old law, the "old Zatik," it is most probable that the directions of the old law were followed, and unleavened bread was eaten.² It almost looks as if when this

¹ Ter-Minassiantz, p. 76.

² If Ludolf is to be relied upon, the Abyssinians use unleavened bread at the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday alone (*Comment. ad suam Hist.*, p. 5). It is noticeable that the Abyssinian Church is even perhaps more Judaising than the Armenian.



ARMENIAN WAFER

custom, which in all probability was suppressed by the orthodox Ezra in the time of Heraclius, was revived by the Council of Manazkert, the use of unleavened bread at the "old Zatik" on Maundy Thursday was extended to the "New Zatik" of Easter Sunday, for the purpose of insisting upon the one nature of our Blessed Lord.

The facts, then, seem to be that unleavened bread was introduced as the authoritative use of the Armenian Church in 727 by the Council of Manazkert.

If so it is a curious coincidence. It was at more or less the same time that the use of unleavened bread seems to have come into use in the West, not there, however, for doctrinal reasons, but for the simple reason of convenience.

Le Brun remarks : " Ce seul Decret [of Manazkert] de leur conciliabule montre suffisamment qu'ils se servoient auparavant de Pain levé ; et l'on peut d'ailleurs regarder ce fait comme certain, quand on considère . . . qu'ils ont tiré leur Liturgie de l'Église de Césarée en Cappadocie et de celle de Constantinople on il n'y pas lieu de douter qu'on ne se servît de Pain levé." ¹

THE PRESENT USE OF THE ARMENIANS

The bread used by the Armenians at the present day is a round unleavened wafer 3 inches long and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick. It is stamped with a crucifix and a narrow ornamental border runs round the edge of it. The bread is made in a chamber in the church specially reserved for that purpose, and is prepared by the priest. While he is preparing the bread the priest reads certain prayers. At the same time he makes a wafer for the *ἀντίδοπον* or *pain béni*, to be distributed after service to those who have been present. This last wafer is different in form from that used for the Eucharist, being larger, softer, and thinner.

¹ Le Brun, *Explic. de la Messe*, iii. 119.

Only one wafer is used in the Eucharist, varying in size according to the estimated number of communicants. The Communion is in both species, a particle of the Host being dipped in the cup and then placed on the tongue of the communicant,¹ no spoon being used, as in the other Eastern Churches. The same practice as to Reservation obtains among the Armenians as in the Orthodox Church, the Host being dipped in the cup and dried and so reserved.

In the illustration the lettering of the superscription is I.N.R.I. That on the left side is JS = Jesus; on the right KHS = Christ.

THE MARONITES

The Maronites, who entered into communion with the Roman Church in the twelfth century, and have ever since remained in communion with her, use in the Eucharist the Latin unleavened wafer. This body alone of Oriental communions is indifferent as to the preparation of the bread on the same day on which it is to be used in the Eucharist.

THE EAST SYRIANS, OR NESTORIANS

Among the East Syrians, or Nestorians, some curious and most interesting customs obtain as to the bread of the Eucharist. The cakes used are, of course, leavened. They are round in shape, $2-2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across by $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch thick, and are stamped with a crosslet and four small crosses. But the most interesting of the Nestorian customs, in this connection, is their use of the Holy Leaven. A small portion of this is mixed with the dough from which the bread for the Eucharist is made, and it is claimed that this Holy Leaven, which is counted among the

¹ M. Ormanian (Armenian ex-Patriarch of Constantinople), *L'Église Arménienne*, p. 89.

Nestorians as one of the Sacraments, is derived from the Apostles themselves. Badger¹ gives the legend as told by John Bar-Zobi, who flourished at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, as follows :

“ . . . And when He was about to close His dispensation, and His passion and death drew nigh, on the evening preceding Friday He committed His passover to His disciples in the bread and wine, as it is written, and gave to each a loaf ; but to John He gave two loaves, and put it into his heart to eat one and to preserve the other, that it might serve as leaven to be retained in the Church for perpetual commemoration. After this, when our Lord was seized by the Jews, and the disciples through fear hid themselves, John was the only one who remained. And when they crucified the Lord in much ignominy with the thieves, John alone was present, determined to see what would become of Him. Then the chief priests ordered that the crucified ones should be taken down from the cross, and that their legs should be broken, in order that, if yet alive, they might die outright. The soldiers did this to the thieves, but when they came to our Lord and found that He was dead already, they broke not His legs, but one of them with a spear pierced His side, and straightway there came out blood and water, of which John was witness. Now this blood is a token of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood in the Church, and the water is the token of the new birth in believers. John was the only one who perceived this separation of water and the blood, and he bare true witness thereof, as he says, that we might believe. He declares that he saw them unmixed, and that he did not take of them together, but of each separately. He took of the blood upon the loaf which he had received from the Paschal Feast, and he

¹ *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii. pp. 161-2. London, 1892.

took of the water in that same vessel which had been committed to him by John the Baptist. The very blood of His body, therefore, mixed with the bread which He had called His body, and the water from His side mingled with the water of Baptism. After He rose from the grave and ascended up in glory to His Father and sent the grace of His Spirit upon His disciples to endow them with wisdom, He commanded His Apostles to ordain in His Church that same leaven which He had taken from His body to be for the Sacrament of His Body and also for the Sacrament of Baptism. And when the disciples went forth to convert the nations they divided the leaven amongst themselves, and they took oil of unction and mixed it with the water which was kept in the vessel, and they divided this also amongst themselves to be a leaven for Baptism. The loaf which John had, and which was mixed with the blood which flowed from His side, they bruised into powder, then mixed it with flour and salt, and divided it among them, each portion being put into a separate vessel to serve as leaven for the Body and Blood of Christ in the Church. This is the account which I have read, which bore the sign of Peter, and I have written it as I found it for the benefit of such as may read this our epistle. The Presbyter Rabban Shimoon, who first related the narrative to me and then afterwards showed me the written account, can witness to the truth."

Badger further quotes¹ from *The Jewel*, of Mar Abd Jeshua, Metropolitan of Nisibis in 1298: "The Holy and Blessed Apostles Thomas and Bartholomew of the Twelve and Adi and Mari of the Seventy, who discipled the East, committed to all the Eastern Churches a Holy Leaven to be kept for the perfecting of the administration of our Lord's Body until His coming again."

¹ *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii, pp. 409, 410.

The account of the origin of the Holy Leaven which Bishop Maclean gives from Isaac of Ishbad, in *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, is derived from John Bar-Zobi.

A form of the legend, which varies somewhat from the above and is interesting as showing that the writer does not regard the Holy Leaven as essential, and also as witnessing to the fact that it was not used in other Churches of the East, is given by Solomon of El-Basra (thirteenth century) in his *Book of the Bee*.¹ It is as follows:

"Some men have a tradition that, when our Lord broke His body for His disciples in the upper chamber, John the son of Zebedee hid a part of his portion until our Lord rose from the dead. . . . [The Lord's Blood was on Thomas's finger.]. . . . And John took that piece of consecrated, and wiped up that blood with it; and the Easterns Mâr Addai and Mâr Mârî took that piece, and with it they sanctified this unleavened bread which has been handed down among us. The other disciples did not take any of it, because they said, 'We will consecrate for ourselves whenever we wish.' As for the oil of baptism. . . . This account we have heard by ear from a recluse and *περιοδευτής*, and we have not received it from Scripture."

Solomon's reference to the other disciples not taking the leaven seems to point to the fact that, in the thirteenth century, the use of the Holy Leaven was a unique Nestorian custom.

Year by year, when the Holy Leaven of a church is nearly expended, on Maundy Thursday it is renewed with great solemnity. What remains of the Holy Leaven is mixed with dough, salt, and olive-oil, and leavens the whole. And no Eucharist can be celebrated without it.

¹ Ed. Budge, 1886; chap. xlvii, 2nd paragraph.

It is renewed by a priest and deacon with a special office called "the renewal of the Holy Leaven."

But not only so do the Nestorians obtain a continuity in the Eucharistic bread. The continuity is doubly maintained, for, besides their practice of mixing some of the Holy Leaven with the dough, they save (like the West Syrians) a piece of the dough from each making to be incorporated in the dough of the next making.

The bread is made solemnly, and a form of prayer is used at the making. I give the two orders :

(1) The Order of the preparation of the Oblation.

(2) The Order for the renewal of the Holy Leaven, or Malca.

I

FROM THE LITURGY OF THE NESTORIANS

THE ORDER¹ OF THE PREPARATION OF THE
OBLATION
(THE MAKING OF THE LOAVES)

OUR FATHER

The priest prays.

Vouchsafe us, O our Lord and our God, to go on in profitable works which are well-pleasing to Thy majesty, that our delight may be in Thy law, and we may meditate therein day and night, Lord of all, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, for ever.

PSALMS I-XXX

[In three hullāle, before each subdivision of which is said a prayer like the foregoing.] Meanwhile he brings fine flour and olive-oil and warm water and mixes them together and pours

¹ This Order is reprinted by permission from Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 247-9.



EAST SYRIAN (NESTORIAN) LOAVES

leaven into them.¹ He puts in salt according to his discretion. He says the three hullāle until the dough is made. When it is made he stamps the dough in the middle, on the east, on the west, on the north, and on the south, and covers it carefully until the time of preparing [the loaves].

THE ORDER OF PREPARING

When he prepares he first takes the portion for the m'caprdna² from the top of the dough, then the leaven, and then he takes from the middle of the dough the portion of the Malca [i.e. the priest's loaf] and makes in it a square cavity, in which he puts a little olive-oil kept for the purpose.

He goes and brings the Malca, saying Ps. cxlv. 1-7 a : then he opens the vessel and with two fingers takes some of the Malca, saying :

This dough is signed and hallowed with the old and holy leaven of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given and handed down to us by our holy fathers Mar Addai and Mar Mari and Mar Thoma the Apostles, who made disciples of this eastern region : in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

He signs the dough in the form of a cross and then takes the Malca and signs the oil in the priest's loaf in like manner. He also takes in two fingers some of the Malca, saying :

This broken portion is signed and hallowed with this Holy Leaven in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

He puts on the cover of the vessel containing the Malca and

¹ I.e. a portion of the dough from the last Eucharist, kept as leaven (h'mira), not to be confused with the Holy Leaven (Malca).

² I.e. the Eulogia, or Antidoron, the blessed bread (not the Sacrament) given to the people after service is over.

goes and carries it to its place, i.e. to the altar, saying Ps. xxiv. 1-6. Then he says :

Our King is with us, and our God is with us, and our helper is the God of Jacob. Happy are the people that are in such a case.

Repeat : Yea, blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God.

He proceeds to Ps. xxiv. 7 and 10 and hangs up the vessel in its place, and he proceeds, beginning :

Glory to God in the highest.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come.

Holy, holy, holy art Thou, our Father which art in heaven : heaven and earth are full of the greatness of Thy glory. Watchers and men cry to Thee, Holy, holy, holy art Thou.

Our Father, etc.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,

From everlasting to everlasting, world without end.

Amen.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come.

Holy, holy, holy art Thou, etc.

He says Pss. lxxxii.-ci. while signing and kneading.

When he has finished the preparation he goes to the oven and says :

He brought me also out of the horrible pit, out of the mire and clay : and set my feet upon the rock, and ordered my goings.

He fills the censer with coals of fire and hangs it up and covers the fire in the oven until it has got somewhat low. He

wipes [the side of the oven] carefully and uncovers the fire. He takes a little incense and puts it in, saying :

This earthen vessel is hallowed : in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

He proceeds :

Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy upon us.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost.

Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy upon us.

From everlasting to everlasting, world without end.

Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy upon us.

He puts his hand into the oven and takes the priest's loaf¹ in his hand, saying :

The King of kings² came down to be baptized, and bowed His head to be baptized of him.

He arranges the priest's loaf on the east side of the oven and another on the west, saying, From the east and from the west : then another on the north and another on the south, saying, From the north and from the south ; and another on the right of the priest's loaf, saying, Titus³ on the right hand, and another on the left, saying, Dumachus³ on the left : two robbers were crucified with the one heavenly Treasure : he on His right hand would not cease from his robbery, but in his last robbery robbed the paradise of Eden : for the others he says, They shall be fat and well-liking, that they may show how true the Lord my strength is, and that there is no unrighteousness in Him.

When he has done arranging them he says :

Like the smoke of the goodly incense and the savour of

¹ Malca.

² Malca d° Malce.

³ Cf. *Evang. Infantia*, 23.

the sweet censer receive, O Christ our Saviour, the request and prayer of Thy servants, *three times*.

He takes a little incense and pours it into the oven, which he covers, saying :

Halleluiah, halleluiah : glory be to Thee, O Lord,
three times.

2

The following Rite is that by which the Malca,¹ or Holy Leaven, is renewed when the supply begins to fail. It is not necessarily performed by a Bishop. The Malca is the Holy Leaven received by tradition from the Apostles, a portion of which, as well as a portion of the dough of the last making, is mixed with every making of bread for the Eucharist.

THE ORDER FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE HOLY
LEAVEN ; THAT IS TO SAY, MALCA²

First, on the Thursday of Pascha (i.e. Maundy Thursday) they shall bring fine wheaten flour that is "Smidha,"³ two thirds and one third of fine pure pounded salt, and they shall pour upon it a little fine preserved olive-oil and three drops of

¹ It may be as well to draw attention to the fact that it is sometimes stated, at least by "Jacobite" ecclesiastics, that the East Syrians mix with the bread for the Eucharist a portion of the Reserved Sacrament itself. This is not the case. In the first place, it is definitely forbidden among the Nestorians to reserve the Holy Sacrament over night. And this statement is probably explained by a misunderstanding of the word "Sacrament" used in this connection. The Malca, or Holy Leaven, is numbered by the Nestorians among the Sacraments, and so in one sense the Sacrament is mingled with each bread-making ; but the Sacrament thus mingled is the Sacrament of the Malca, or Holy Leaven, and not the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.

² This translation has been submitted to the Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, and appears as corrected by him, and to him are due all the annotations.

³ = σμιδαλις.

water, and they shall mix them together on the carved Eucharistic slab, the Sacristan and another priest or more and the deacons with them. And they shall set the Cross and the Gospel book on the carved Eucharistic slab with the censer and lights and shall begin :

Holy, holy, holy art Thou, our Father which art in heaven : heaven and earth are full of the greatness of Thy glory. Watchers and men cry to thee Holy, holy, holy art Thou.

And, Our Father.

PRAYER

May the worshipful and glorious Name of Thy glorious Trinity be worshipped and glorified and honoured and exalted and confessed and blessed in heaven and on earth at all times, Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for ever ;

Or

Thee, O King, whom kings worship, and the adorable honour of whose majesty companies and ten thousands of angels and archangels, standing in great fear and trembling, serve and celebrate, we are bound to confess, worship, and glorify at all seasons and times, Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for ever. *Amen.*

And they shall perform the three Hullāle : “ God standeth ” (Ps. lxxxii.), “ My song shall be alway of the loving-kindness of the Lord ” (Ps. lxxxix.), and “ The Lord is King ” (Ps. xciii.).

PRAYER

For all Thy helps and graces (given) to us, which cannot be repaid, let us confess and glorify Thee without ceasing in Thy crowned Church, which is full of helps and all blessings.

For Thou art the Lord and Creator of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for ever. *Amen.*

They say the Lakhumara. Thee, O Lord, we confess : and Thee, Jesus Christ, we glorify : for Thou art the quickener of our bodies : and Thou art the Saviour of our souls. *I was glad when they said unto me, We go into the house of the Lord.* Thee, Lord of all, etc. Glory be, etc. From everlasting to everlasting. *Amen.* Thee, Lord of all, etc. *They say,* Let us pray. Peace be with us.

PRAYER

Thou, O my Lord, art in truth the quickener of our bodies, and Thou art the good Saviour of our souls and the perpetual guardian of our lives, and Thee are we bound to praise, worship, and glorify at all times, Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for ever. *Amen.*

And the deacon says : Raise up your voice and glorify, all people, the living God.

And they shall say : Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy upon us. Glory be, etc. Holy God, etc. From everlasting, etc. Holy God, etc. *They add,* Let us pray. Peace be with us.

PRAYER

Holy and glorious and mighty and immortal, who dwellest in the saints, and whose will is pleased with them, turn, O my Lord, we beseech Thee, and be merciful, and have pity on us, as Thou art wont, at all times, Lord of all, etc.

And the deacon says : Bend your heads for the laying on of hands, and receive a blessing.

And the priest pronounces in a low voice :

O Treasure enriching to those who receive it : O Thou

who art rich and whose gifts are not withheld from the poor ; O Thou who art good and dost not injure Thy labourers ; O Lord who dost not neglect Thy servants ; Hear, O my Lord, the prayer of Thy servants in Thy clemency and receive the petition of those who worship Thee, according to Thy mercies ; and answer in Thy mercies our requests from Thy rich treasure-house, and keep in Thy grace the beloved flock of Thy pasture from all harm, and establish Thy peace among us all for ever, Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for ever.

And he raises his voice and says : May our souls be perfected in the one complete faith of Thy glorious Trinity, and may we all in one union of love be worthy to raise to Thee glory, and honour, confession, and worship at all times, Lord of all, etc.

They say THE ANTHEM.¹

[Ps. cxlv. 7] *The memorial of Thine abundant kindness shall be showed.* Thy Church our Saviour maketh : the memorial of Thy precious passion : which was accomplished for our salvation : keep her children from harm.

[Ps. xlv. 18] *I will make Thy name to be remembered in all generations.* Thy Church, O our Saviour, etc.

Go on to the tune, "The Blessed Martyrs."

[Ps. lv. 20] *He that abideth of old.* The mystery which was hid from the ages and generations : by the good pleasure of the Creator those in heaven and those on earth : men learnt in the manifestation of Christ : and men and angels began : to tell of the holiness of His glory : Three [Persons] one Godhead.

[Ps. cxvi. 13.] *Before all the people.* In the river Jordan John baptized Him : the Lamb of God : and when He was coming up from the waters : the Holy Spirit of

¹ In the Anthems and Hymns of Praise a colon marks the change of chant and a full stop where the choir changes.

Truth : in the likeness of the bodily form of a dove : came down and lighted upon the head : of our Saviour after He was baptized.

Go on to the tune, "God the Word." [Ps. xl. 2] *He set my feet upon a rock and ordered my goings.* Lord, in the foundation of the rock of the truth, Simon Peter, Thou didst establish me : and in Baptism Thou didst promise me true adoption : and I by my deeds have become like that heir who squandered his possessions : I beseech Thee like him, making request, "I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am no more worthy to be called Thy son" : merciful Father, have mercy upon me.

[Ps. civ. 5] *That it never should move at any time.* Lord, upon the foundation of the faith of Simon Peter Thou hast built Thy Church : and because of Thy promise to Him the waves and storms of heathenism have not shaken it : and when Satan saw that by his angels he could not prevail against the Catholic [Church] : he incited the sons of her teaching in every quarter [of the world] : to destroy one another with the shafts of envy : bring to nought her vainglorious ones : who envy and make light of one another : and may Thy peace reign over her children.

Go on to the tune "Whosoever is wise." [Ps. cxlv. 1] *I will magnify Thee, O my Lord, the King.* O Christ, the Son of God, who camest for our salvation : remember Thy Church which Thou didst purchase from eternity : and subject to it the divided [or, striving?] peoples which delight in war : as Thou didst promise to Peter its founder : that the gates of Hell and Hell's tyrant should not prevail against it for ever : confirm Thy word, O our Saviour, unto it : that Thou art its King : and the bringer-up of its children : and the boast of its inhabitants.

[Ps. lxxiv. 2] *Remember Thy Church which Thou didst purchase from eternity.* O our Lord, in Thy mercy guard

Thy Church : which Thou didst elect and establish from eternity : and make to cease from it wars and contentions : and bind its sons with love and concord : let its priests be in peace and firm faith : its shepherd keep in Thy grace that he may be a defender : and may seek from Thee peace to his flock at all times. *Go on to the tune of "Blessed art Thou, O Lord of all."* [Ps. cxlv. 11] *They shall tell the glory of Thy kingdom.* Praised, O my Lord, be Thy Advent¹ and Thy Nativity and Thy Upbringing and the Commemoration of Thy Mother : and the Epiphany and the Feasts of Thy preachers John and Peter and Paul Thy disciples : and the four Evangelists who wrote Thy Gospel, and Thy friend Stephen and the company of Diodore,² and the company of Mar Narsai and Mar Abha³ : and all the departed who confessed Thy domination, O Thou Hope of Thy true ones.

[Ps. xxxiv. 1] *I will bless the Lord at all times.* Blessed be Thy Fast⁴ O our Lord, and Thy Going-up to Jerusalem, and Thy Passover, and Thy [Feet-] washing : and Thy Passion and Thy Death and Thy Resurrection : and the Commemoration of Thy confessors and George Thy martyr : and the day of Thy Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the token given to the Apostles : and the two Inventions of the Cross of Light and the Hallowing of Thy Church,⁵ and the Transfiguration, whose greatness conquers all.

Glory be to the Father, etc., *to the tune of "The Great Mystery."* With the eye of understanding and of love let us all look on Christ : through the mysteries and types

¹ These are the seasons and festivals of the first part of the ecclesiastical year.

² Commonly called "the Greek doctors."

³ "The Syrian doctors."

⁴ *I.e.* Lent and the following holy days.

⁵ A sort of general dedication festival.

which He has delivered to us : when He was led to the passion of the Cross : and when upon the Holy Altar He was set a living sacrifice : and as angels the priests celebrate the memorial of His Death with voices of praise, saying : “ Glory be to Him for His ineffable gift.”

They go on to say the Creed : We believe in one God the Father almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, the first-born of every creature, who was begotten of His Father before all worlds and not made, very God of very God, of one substance with His Father : by whom the worlds were framed and all things were created : who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and was made man, and was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered and was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and was buried, and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of His Father, and shall come again to judge the dead and the quick. And in one Holy Ghost, the spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, the Spirit, the giver of life. And in one holy and apostolic Catholic Church : and we acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins, and the resurrection of our bodies, and the life everlasting. *Amen.*

And the deacon says the Litany.

Let us pray. Peace be with us all.

Pray and make request of God the Lord of all that ye be unto Him a kingdom, holy priests and people : cry to the Lord God of hosts with all your heart and all your soul, for He is God the Father of Compassion, merciful and pitiful, that wisheth not that those whom He hath fashioned should perish, but that they should repent and live before Him. And especially are we bound to pray and confess and

worship and glorify and honour and exalt our God the adorable Father, Lord of all, who by His Christ wrought a good hope and salvation for our souls, that He fulfil in us His grace and mercy and compassion unto the end.
R. Amen.

The deacon proceeds :

With request and beseeching we ask for the angel of peace and mercy

R. From Thee, O Lord.

Night and day throughout our life we ask for continual peace for Thy Church, and life without sin

R. From Thee, O Lord.

We ask continual love, which is the bond of perfectness, with the confirmation of the Holy Ghost

R. From Thee, O Lord.

We ask forgiveness of sins and those things which help our lives and appease Thy Godhead

R. From Thee, O Lord.

We ask the mercy and compassion of the Lord continually at all times

R. From Thee, O Lord.

Let us commit our souls and one another's souls to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.

And the priest repeats in a low voice this [Prayer of] Inclination: O Lord God Almighty (*repeat*) assist my weakness by Thy mercies, and by the help of Thy grace make me worthy by Thy help to draw nigh and sign this matter with the sign of the cross to sanctify it ; that it may be for the signing and the perfecting of the dough of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ.

*Canon*¹: And to Thee and to Him and to the Holy Ghost let us offer glory and honour and praise and worship now and for evermore. *Amen.*

¹ Here used in the sense of the conclusion of a prayer.

And he shall sign himself and proceed and say [this] Canon: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all now and for evermore. *Amen.*

And he shall sign the matter. And he shall proceed: Thee the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Israel, glorious King. *And he shall proceed:* Let us praise and worship and glorify God the Lord of all.

And they shall answer: It is meet and right.

And the deacon shall say: Peace be with us all.

And the priest says the Gehantha.¹

Yea, O Lord God Almighty, Omnipotent (*repeat*), heavenly Treasure, who suppliest and sheddest Thy mercies on the poor, to Thee we present our souls, our minds, and thoughts, and the understanding of our intellects, the gaze of our eyes cast down, and our hands spread forth to Thee. We cry and pray and supplicate and beseech that Thou wilt sanctify and perfect this matter by the instrumentality of these Thy feeble and vile and wretched servants and by the alighting of Thy Holy Spirit, through Thy lovingkindness and Thy mercies. *Amen.*

And he says, instead of a Canon: In the beginning was the Word. And the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. Now and for evermore. *Amen.*

And he signs the matter. And then he takes the old from the altar and signs the new with it and says: Signed and sanctified and mixed is this new leaven with this holy and old leaven of our Lord Jesus Christ, which has been

¹ Prayer of inclination, said with a bowed head and low voice.

handed down to us from our spiritual fathers, Mar Mari and Mar Addai and Mar Thoma, the blessed Apostles, teachers of this Eastern Country, and has been carried from place to place and from country to country for the perfecting and the mixing of the living Bread¹ of the life-giving mysteries, as often as reason of necessity requires, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

And they shall mix them well with one another.

PRAYER

To Thy wonderful and ineffable dispensation, O my Lord, which in mercies and clemency was perfected and made and fulfilled for the renewal and salvation of our nature, in the firstfruits which were of us, we lift up glory and honour and praise and worship at all times, Lord of all, etc.

CANON²

Priest. Come, let us praise the Lord, and let us sing unto God the Saviour.

From error and from sin and from death, in His compassion, our Lord has redeemed us: let us worship Him, and let us glorify Him.

Come, let us praise the Lord, and let us sing praise unto God the Saviour.

Deacon. Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving and let us glorify Him with songs.

Priest. For the Lord is a great God, a great King above all gods.

Deacon. In His hands are the foundations of the

¹ Lit. the breaking.

² Here used in the sense of a chant intercalated with a psalm (more elaborate than farsing).

earth and the height of the hills : the sea is His, and He made it.

Priest. And His hands prepared the dry land : come, let us kneel and worship Him.

Deacon. And let us praise the Lord who made us : for He is our God, and we are His people and the sheep of His pasture.

From error and from sin and from death, in His compassion, our Lord has redeemed us : let us worship Him and let us glorify Him.

Priest. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, from everlasting to everlasting. *Amen.*

O Thou, who didst say in Thy teaching to Thy disciples ' Knock, and I will open ' : open the door to our prayer.

PRAISE

Glory be to Thy mercies, Christ our King : Son of God, worshipped of all. For Thou art our Lord and Thou art our God : the head of our lives and our blessed Hope. Thee worship the Orders above : and the multitudes below in one symphony : praising Thee who art invisible : who didst manifest Thyself in our body in the fulness of time. When Thy mercies were moved thou didst please in Thy love : to come for our salvation and didst free our race. Our sorrows Thou didst heal, and our guilt thou didst pardon : and our mortality thou didst raise in Thy mercies. And Thou didst found on earth a holy Church : as the type of that above in heaven. In a type thou didst sign her and in love thou didst wed her : in mercy thou didst receive her, by suffering thou didst perfect her. And the hater of men, lo ! he doth trouble her : by the boldness of his audacity by his ministers.¹

¹ *I.e.* the evil angels.

Neglect not, O my Lord, the holy Church : that the promise of Thy words be not falsified. Let not her fair beauty be disfigured : let not her great riches be reduced to poverty. Remember Thy promise to Peter : fulfil indeed the thing that Thou hast said. Make firm her doors and strengthen her bars : lift up her horn and exalt her walls. Bless her sons and preserve her children : and set at peace her priests and put to shame those who hate her. And establish within her the peace which is from Thee : and make to cease from her dividing schisms. And grant that we may dwell a quiet habitation : without confusion in reverence for the truth, keeping our faith : in good hope and perfect love. And also let our conversation be pleasing to Thee : and may we receive mercy in the day of recompense. And without ceasing may we offer praise : to Thy Father through Thee and to the Holy Ghost : to whom be praise through all generations : of the ages of the ages. *Amen and Amen.*

LITANY

Let us stand in order all of us. In joy and in gladness let us pray and say, Our Lord have mercy upon us.

And they shall answer : Our Lord have mercy upon us.

Lord Almighty, Omnipotent, God of our fathers, we beseech Thee. *℟.* Our Lord, etc.

Holy and glorious, who dwellest in the saints and whose will is appeased, we beseech Thee. *℟.* Our Lord, etc.

King of kings and Lord of lords, who dwellest in the glorious light, we beseech Thee. *℟.* Our Lord, etc.

Thou whom no man has seen nor ever can see, we beseech Thee. *℟.* Our Lord, etc.

Thou who willest that all men should be saved and turn to the knowledge of the truth. *℟.* Our Lord, etc.

For the health of our holy Fathers, Mar N., Catholic Patriarch, and Mar N., Bishop Metropolitan, and for all their clergy, we beseech Thee. *R.* Our Lord, etc.

Merciful God, Thou who in mercies rulest all, we beseech Thee. *R.* Our Lord, etc.

Thou who in heaven art glorified and on earth art worshipped, we beseech Thee. *R.* Our Lord, etc.

Thy peace and Thy tranquillity establish in the multitude of Thy worshippers, Christ our Saviour, and have mercy upon us.

Then : Holy God (*v.p.* 68). *And :* Our Father which art in heaven.

And they shall say the prayers and concluding benediction,¹ and they shall place the leaven in a vessel or else in a box [?] ; and bring it into the sanctuary to the psalm, "The earth is the Lord's" (Ps. xxiv.), and shall suspend it in its place. And for the rest, the sacristan shall bring the matter and wipe it [or perhaps "cover it"] with care well, when first he brings the leaven which is in the sanctuary, with the psalm, "I will magnify Thee, O God, my King" (Ps. cxlv.), and shall sign the matter according to custom, then wipe it and prepare the Bread [for the Eucharist].²

¹ For these see Maclean's *East Syrian Daily Offices*, pp. 16-22 (Rivington, Percival & Co., 1894).

² The meaning of the last part of this rubric is not quite clear.

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